

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

September, 1944

MENO SPANN. <i>Goethisches in Manns Josephszyklus</i> . . .	259
ANNA GRANVILLE HATCHER. <i>Je le vois sourire; je le vois qui sourit; je le vois souriant (Part I)</i> . . .	275
GEORGE L. LAM and WARREN H. SMITH. <i>George Vertue's Contributions to Chaucerian Iconography</i> . .	303
W. K. WIMSATT, JR. <i>One Relation of Rhyme to Reason: Alexander Pope</i>	323
R. E. WATTERS. <i>Wordsworth's "Amaranthine Flower of Faith"</i>	339
REVIEWS	357
BOOKS RECEIVED	381

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Edited by
EDWARD GODFREY COX
Managing Editor

DUDLEY D. GRIFFITH

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND

Direct Contributions and Business Correspondence to
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ARTICLES

Meno Spann. Goethisches in Manns Josephzyklus . . .	259
Anna Granville Hatcher. Je le vois sourire; je le vois qui sourit; je le vois souriant (Part I) . . .	275
George L. Lam and Warren H. Smith. George Vertue's Contributions to Chaucerian Iconography . . .	303
W. K. Wimsatt, Jr. One Relation of Rhyme to Reason: Alexander Pope . . .	323
R. E. Watters. Wordsworth's "Amaranthine Flower of Faith"	339

REVIEWS

H. G. Fiedler (editor). The Oxford Book of German Prose from Luther to Rilke. [<i>August Closs</i>] . . .	357
Henning Larsen and C. A. Williams (editors). Scandinavian Studies Presented to George T. Flom by Colleagues and Friends. [<i>A. LeRoy Andrews</i>] . . .	359
William Kenneth Cornell. Adolphe Retté (1863-1930). [<i>Georges Lemaitre</i>] . . .	361
Philip A. Wadsworth. The Novels of Gomberville. A Critical Study of <i>Polexandre</i> and <i>Cythérée</i> . [<i>Marc Denking</i>] . .	362
Leo Kirschenbaum. Enrique Gaspar and the Social Drama in Spain. [<i>William E. Wilson</i>] . . .	364
B. J. Whiting, et al. The College Survey of English Literature. [<i>Helen Andrews Kahin</i>] . . .	364
Wayland D. Hand. A Dictionary of Words and Idioms Associated with Judas Iscariot. [<i>Francis Lee Utley</i>] . .	365
C. T. Prouty (editor). George Gascoigne's <i>A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres</i> . [<i>John Leon Lievsay</i>] . . .	369
Josephine Waters Bennett. The Evolution of <i>The Faerie Queene</i> . [<i>Ernest A. Strathmann</i>] . . .	371
Oscar James Campbell. Shakespeare's Satire. [<i>George Coffin Taylor</i>] . . .	373

Alan Dugald McKillop. <i>The Background of Thomson's Seasons.</i> [<i>John Edwin Wells</i>]	376
Frank Hallam Lyell. <i>A Study of the Novels of John Galt.</i> [<i>Alan Lang Strout</i>]	377
W. D. Paden. <i>Tennyson in Egypt: A Study of the Imagery in His Earlier Work.</i> [<i>Gerald Sanders</i>]	379
Joseph Mersand. <i>Drama Goes to War.</i> [<i>Glenn Hughes</i>]	380
Books Received	381

GOETHISCHES IN MANNS JOSEPHZYKLUS

By MENO SPANN

Thomas Manns Gesamtwerk wiederholt "zu seiner Zeit" die Goethische Schaffenskurve. Der Weg geht von Werthers und Tonios Leiden über Wilhelm Meister und Castorp, die von der Geistessorge bedrängten Sucher, zu Faust und Joseph den Ernährern.¹ Manns eigene Aussagen und vor allem das Zeugnis seines Werkes rechtfertigen die Annahme einer Wesensverwandtschaft der beiden Dichter und lassen den kritischen Allerweltsausdruck Entlehnung plump und verfälschend erscheinen. Besonders eng sind die Beziehungen zwischen Manns Josephzyklus und Goethes Alterswerk, genauer der Schaffensperiode des "Divan," was an besonders augenfälligen Beispielen von Denkweise und Stil der in Betracht kommenden Werke erwiesen werden soll.

Die Säkularisierung des Alten Testaments ging in gewissen Formen vor sich, die schon den jungen Goethe stark beeinflussten und die noch heute erkennbar und einflußreich sind. Die geistesgeschichtliche Frage, ob solche Einflüsse durch propagandisierende Zufallswendungen erklärt werden können, oder im Wesen der Dinge liegen, erfordert ein philosophisches Glaubensbekenntnis, das hier nicht nötig ist. Trotzdem müssen diese Einflüsse etwas näher betrachtet werden.

Zu Beginn des Goethezeitalters, im Jahre 1753, erschienen zwei Werke, die eine kopernikanische Wende in der Bibelauffassung darstellen sollten, obgleich ihre Verfasser dergleichen sicherlich nicht im Sinn hatten. Jean Astruc begann dies Geschichte der alttestamentarischen Philologie mit: "Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux, dont il paroît que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse." Hier erschienen zum ersten Male klar erfaßt der "Jahvist" und der "Elohist," von denen noch heute das wissenschaftliche Studium der Genesis ausgehen muß, und die so manchen stud. theol. in einen stud. phil. haben umwandeln helfen. R. Lowths Werk "Praelectiones de sacra poesi Hebraeorum" ist das erste epochemachende Werk ästhetischer Bibelkritik. Ganz unversehens war der geistig regsamen Jugend der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte das Gotteswort zum Dichterwort geworden, und zwar erschien es mit dem in ähnlicher Weise neugesehenen Homer und dem Pseudo-ossian, der ja eigentlich ein dichterischer Ableger des Alten Testaments war, als Beispiel sogenannter Naturpoesie. Eichhorn und Herder vermittelten die

¹ Meno Spann, "Der Josephroman in Thomas Manns Gesamtwerk," *PMLA*, LVII (1942), 553.

neuen Anregungen der Generation der deutschen Stürmer und Dränger, besonders aber dem jungen Goethe.

Schon der Knabe Goethe hatte sich mit dem Alten Testament und besonders den Patriarchen dichterisch befaßt, aber die nachgeahmten Vorbilder stammten aus einer ganz andersartigen Geisteswelt als der der beginnenden Romantik. Die Geschichten der Patriarchen und besonders Josephs, in der deutschen Literatur zu keiner Zeit gänzlich vernachlässigt, erlebten in der Romanliteratur des Barock die Blüte ihrer Beliebtheit.

Zesen behauptet in der Vorrede zu seinem 1670 erschienenen Roman "Assenat: das ist derselben und des Josefs Heilige Stahts-Lieb- und Lebensgeschichte . . ." er hätte den ersten deutschen Roman mit "heiligem" Inhalt geschrieben. Vielleicht wußte er nicht, daß die ersten Teile des fünfteiligen Romans des Herzogs Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig "Aramena" schon 1669 erschienen waren. Diese "Historia Altes Testaments, so zu Zeiten der Patriarchen, Abraham etc. sich unter den Heiden zugetragen, nebst denen Gebräuchen der alten Völker so artig begriffen" ist der erste biblische Roman in der deutschen Literatur, der die Josephgeschichte einschließt. Zesen hat aber sicherlich von dem 1670 erschienenen Josephroman Grimmelshausens gewußt, denn er hat 144 Seiten aus Grimmelshausens Roman wörtlich abgeschrieben. Im "Wunderbarlichen Vogelnest" beschwert sich Grimmelshausen: "Ich sehe wol, daß der Nachbar Simplizissimus eben so wol seinen Zoilum hat als der berühmte Homerus."² Interessant sind an dieser Stelle seine Quellenaufzählungen, denn die Suleika des "West-östlichen Divans" wird hier zum ersten Mal dem deutschen Publikum erklärt: "Wann aber ihr Herr Schrepfeysen gern wissen möchtet woher ich den Namen Selicha (Suleika) vor deß Potiphar Gemahlin aufgetrieben so schlaget des berühmten Olearii Persische Raißbeschreibung auff. . ."³ Grimmelshausens Potiphar ist wie Manns Petepre impotent: "Viel, ja die meisten Hebreer halten davor, Potiphar habe den Joseph seiner Schönheit wegen zum Mißbrauch erkaufft, und seye deßwegen untüchtig worden."⁴ Warum unter allen biblischen Stoffen die Josephgeschichte der beliebteste Roman des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde, läßt sich verstehen. Im Titel der "Aramena" werden "die Gebräuche der alten Völker" erwähnt. Das bildungshungrige Publikum erwartete solch kulturhistorisches Detail. In Zesens Roman, dem repräsentativen Josephroman des Jahrhunderts, werden die Fauna und Flora, Architektur und Gebräuche der alten Ägypter nach bestem Wissen der Zeit erörtert. In der Gewissen-

² Grimmelshausen, *Wunderbarliches Vogelnest* in Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, 270-291, hrsg. von E. Beutler (Halle: Niemeyer, 1931), S. 104.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 106.

haftigkeit seines Quellenstudiums erinnert Zesens Roman an den Professorenroman "Uarda" des Ägyptologen Ebers. Zu seinen Quellenstudien gehört so Entlegenes wie das "Buch von den ägyptischen Pflanzen" des Venetiano Prospero! Zesens Romantitel "Josefs Heilige Stahts- Lieb- und Lebensgeschichte" ist aufschlußreich. Wie kein anderer Stoff der Zeit bot die Josephgeschichte Möglichkeiten zum "galanten" Roman mit artigen Liebes- und Ehegeschichten und gleichzeitig forderte sie den Dichter heraus, bedeutsame Anregungen zum beliebten Staatsroman auszuspinnen. Daß das schäferische Modeelement bei dem Hirtensohn Joseph auch eine Rolle spielte, versteht sich, und so wären denn alle Romantypen der Barockzeit in dem Josephroman vereinigt mit der möglichen Ausnahme des Schlüsselromans. Buchholz trifft das Wesentliche mit seiner barockcuriosen Feststellung über die "Heiligen Romane," die alles enthalten, "was nicht allein des Lesers weltwallendes, sondern auch zugleich sein geisthimmlisches Gemüth erquicken könnte."⁵ Die landläufigen biblischen Romane sind auf der Stufe des Barockromans stehen geblieben. Beliebte Werke wie "Quo Vadis," "Ben Hur," und die ihnen verwandten Großfilme voll römischer Kulturhistorie und christenfressender Löwen ergötzen das "weltwallende" Gemüt mit sentimentalen Liebesgeschichten und exotischem Kulissenprunk, während die eingestreuten traktätchenhaften Erbauungsstellen das "geisthimmlische" Gemüt erquicken.

Klopstocks "Messias" ist ein letzter Versuch, naive Gläubigkeit in den großen Stilformen des Barock auszudrücken. Bei seinen Nachtretern wird der biblisch heroische Stoff zum hausbackenen Kitsch, wie Bodmers Patriarchaden beweisen.

Da Goethes Beschäftigung mit dem Josephstoff schon in seinen Kinderjahren begann, ist es selbstverständlich, daß er zunächst von den letzten Ausläufern des Barock beeinflusst wurde. Für einen seiner frühesten Aufsätze benutzte er zwölf Situationen aus dem Leben Josephs. Vielleicht hat er sogar für das Seekatzsche Bild "Verkauf Josephs an die Midianiter" Modell gestanden.⁶ Wesentlicher ist der nicht erhaltene Josephroman des Vierzehnjährigen. Ein Brief an Cornelia aus dem Jahre 1767 spricht von der Verbrennung des Manuskripts "wegen der vielen Gebete, die er (Joseph) Zeitlebens gethan hat."⁷ Mehr erfahren wir im vierten Buch von Dichtung und Wahrheit, das eine Übersicht vom Stand der Bibeldichtung in den sechziger Jahren gibt. Klopstocks Bedeutung ist noch unge-

⁵ Zitiert bei A. Koberstein, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1872), II-III, 184.

⁶ Vgl. M. Schubart, "Francois de Theas Comte de Thoranc" (München, 1896), S. 140 ff.

⁷ Weimarerische (Sophien-) Ausgabe, IV, 1, 115. Alle Goethezitate in diesem Aufsatz beziehen sich auf die Sophienausgabe.

schwächt, aber Bodmers Patriarchaden⁸ waren schon fast gänzlich vergessen. Die direkte Anregung zu seinem Josephwerk bekam Goethe von K. von Moser, dessen biblischer Prosaroman "Daniel in der Löwengrube" das Formproblem für den jugendlichen Dichter löste. Weitere Ausmalung der Charaktere, Einschalten von "Inzidenzen und Episoden," und der Umstand, daß er das Werk diktieren konnte, drohten den Roman höchst "voluminos" zu machen. Man lächelt aus Jahrhundertferne über die Schwierigkeiten, die der junge Goethe mit dem lawinenartig wachsenden Werk hatte. Unwillkürlich denkt man an die gewaltige Ausdehnung des Mannschen Josephromans, "dieser Geduldsprobe von Werk," die es nötig macht, "daß immer neue Tricks erfunden werden müssen."⁹ Selbstverständlich enthalten die 1811 geschriebenen Betrachtungen über die biblische Urgeschichte im vierten Buch des ersten Teiles von Dichtung und Wahrheit Goethes reifes Wissen und können uns keine Vorstellung von dem biblischen Roman des Knaben Goethe geben.

Die Formen- und Gedankenwelt des Barock ist für den Goethe der Wertherzeit versunken. Die neu entstandene ästhetische Bibelkritik hat ihn gelehrt, das dichterisch Wertvolle vom rein Historischen, Theologischen und Ritualen zu scheiden. Das dichterisch Wertvolle ist ihm in der romantischen Formulierung seiner Zeit "Naturpoesie," Wesensschau des Allgemeinen menschlichen, des ewig Menschlichen unverdorben von der Kultur. Goethes Kritik des Pentateuch, die bis in die Wertherzeit zurückgeht, kommt schon ganz nahe an Manns Auffassung heran:

Um mich nun in diesem Labyrinth (Goethe meint "die höchst traurige unbegreifliche Redaktion" des Pentateuch) zu finden, gab ich mir die Mühe sorgfältig zu sondern, was eigentliche Erzählung ist. . . . Ich sonderte dieses von dem, was gelehrt und geboten wird. Unter dem ersten verstehe ich das, *was allen Ländern, allen sittlichen Menschen gemäß sein würde*, und unter dem zweiten, was das Volk Israel besonders angeht und verbindet.¹⁰

In dieser Richtung ist Goethe in seinen alttestamentarischen Studien weitergeschritten, und das Endergebnis entspricht seinem klassisch humanistischen Kulturbegriff. Die patriarchalischen Zustände sind ihm Urformen des Menschlichen, die Geschichten, die sich im syrisch palästinensischen Winkel und im Niltal zugetragen haben, sind kulturelle Urphänomene, die auf späteren Stufen mit Abwandlungen wiederholt aber nicht überholt werden können. Das Gleiche gilt vom Orient, dessen Zeitlosigkeit Goethe ein treueres Bewahren des Urgegebenen bedeutet. Diese Gedankengänge finden im "Divan" ihren dichterischen und in den "Noten und Abhandlungen zum Divan" ihren gelehrten Ausdruck. Hier stimmen Goethes und Manns

⁸ Bodmer hatte zwei Josephepen geschrieben: "Jakob und Joseph," 1751, "Joseph und Zulika," 1753.

⁹ Aus einem Brief Manns an den Autor vom 16. VI. 1942.

¹⁰ Goethe, I, 158-159. Italics mine.

geschichtsphilosophische Auffassungen vollkommen überein. Der Aufsatz "Israel in der Wüste" in den "Noten und Abhandlungen zum Divan" ist das Ergebnis von Goethes jahrelanger Beschäftigung mit den Problemen des Alten Testaments. Sprachstil und Gedankengehalt machen diesen Aufsatz zum nächsten literarischen Verwandten von Manns Josephzyklus.

Vorausnehmend sei eine Eigentümlichkeit der Josephromane erwähnt, die sich bei Goethe nicht in dem Maße findet. Mann macht viel stärkeren Gebrauch von Hebraismen als Goethe. Während die Josephromane bis in stilistische Einzelheiten in die Sprachtradition gehören, die Goethes Altersstil geschaffen hat, geben diese Hebraismen seinem Werk ein eigentümliches Gepräge, das dem Ohre am meisten auffällt und die Goethischen Anklänge zeitweilig übertönt. Merkmale dieses hebraisierenden Stiles sind:

Parallelismus membrorum: Und er hätte geblinzelt vor dem Namen und sich weggeduckt vor dem Wort. . . . Denn er ist ganz ohne Unterricht und weiß nichts vom Schreibzeug.¹¹

Vorwegnahme des Infinitivs und des Partisipperfekts: Ich bin gegangen, die Stadt zu sehen vom Hügel und Ephrons doppeltes Haus.¹²

Vorwegnahme des Verbs im Nebensatz: Darum, daß Gott ihm den Geist des Verstandes verlieh und ihm eingab die Ordnungen, unter welche. . . .¹³

Gebrauch des definitiven Artikels statt des possessiven Adjektivs: Und des Kindes Augen haben ihn nicht erblickt (statt: meine Augen . . .).¹⁴

Jiddische Ausdrücke: Gejauchzt! Komm heute gleich und beehre die Söhne!¹⁵ Wie ist mir denn, weiden deine Brüder. . . .¹⁶ Du bist gut, sagte er und schüttelte den Kopf. . . .¹⁷

Diese jiddischen Ausdrücke sind besonders überraschend und fremdartig in Manns gepflegtem Stil. Er gebraucht sie im Sinne seiner Wiederholungstheorie. Er will eine Ursituation zeigen, in der ein bestimmtes Wort gebraucht wurde, dessen Vorkommen in der Populärsprache, Jahrtausende später, eine Wiederholung anzeigt.

Es versteht sich, daß diese Hebraismen nur in den Redepartien vorkommen, um israelitische Charaktere scharf abzuheben. In den reflektierenden und didaktischen Teilen des Werkes ist Manns Stil dem Altersstil Goethes so ähnlich, daß aus dem Zusammenhang gerissene Stellen aus den Werken beider Dichter trotz der Zeitenspanne, die sie trennt, verwechselt werden können, was ihre Zugehörigkeit anbetrifft. Die folgenden Stellen stammen aus Goethes "Noten und Abhandlungen zum West-östlichen Divan" aus "Dichtung und Wahrheit" und aus verschiedenen Teilen des Josephzyklus. Die Überein-

¹¹ *Die Geschichten Jakobs*, S. 41.

¹² *Ibid.*, S. 40.

¹³ *Der junge Joseph*, S. 161.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 169.

¹⁵ *Joseph in Ägypten*, S. 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, S. 40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, S. 61.

stimmung in Gedankengehalt, Wortwahl, Konstruktion und Satzmelodie ist so stark, daß es nicht immer gelingen dürfte, zwischen Goethe und Mann richtig zu wählen. Der Leser versuche selber zu entscheiden, ehe er die Fußnoten zu Rate zieht.

Die Sache aber aufs genaueste betrachtet wird es höchst wahrscheinlich, daß das über flüssige Stationenverzeichnis zur Rettung der problematischen vierzig Jahre eingeschoben worden.¹⁸

Alles mit Ruhe betrachtet, kann von einem Sündenfall der Seele oder des uranfänglichen Lichtmenschen nur bei starker moralischer Überspitzung die Rede sein.¹⁹

Hier sollte er seine ersten Fähigkeiten entwickeln, und hier sollte ihn zugleich das Los treffen, das seiner ganzen Nachkommenschaft beschieden war, seine Ruhe zu verlieren, indem er nach Erkenntnis strebte. Das Paradies war verscherzt, die Menschen mehrten und verschlimmerten sich: die an die Unarten dieses Geschlechts noch nicht gewöhnten Elohim wurden ungeduldig und vernichteten es von Grund aus.²⁰

Eine Zurückführung, aus der erhellt, daß der da und dort angesiedelte Paradiesgedanke seine Anschaulichkeit aus der Erinnerung der Völker an ein verschwundenes Land bezog, wo eine weise fortgeschrittene Menschheit in ebenso milder wie heiliger Ordnung glückselige Zeiten verbracht hatte.²¹

Ohne daher an die Chronologie, das schwierigste aller Studien, nur irgend zu rühren, so wollen wir den poetischen Teil derselben hier zugunsten unserer Hypothese kürzlich in Betracht ziehen. Mehrere runde, heilig, symbolisch, poetisch zu nennende Zahlen kommen in der Bibel so wie in anderen altertümlichen Schriften vor. Die Zahl Sieben scheint dem Schaffen, Wirken und Tun, die Zahl Vierzig hingegen dem Beschauen, Erwarten, vorzüglich aber der Absonderung gewidmet zu sein.²²

. . . das Wunder und das Geheimnis der Zahl, die Sechzig, die Zwölf, die Sieben, die Vier, die Drei, die Göttlichkeit des Maßes und wie alles stimmte und einander entsprach, so daß es ein Staunen war und eine Anbetung des großen Einklanges. Zwölf waren es der Tierkreisbilder, und sie bildeten die Stationen des großen Umlaufs.²³

Denn gewissermaßen war Abraham Gottes Vater. Er hatte ihn erschaut und hervorgedacht, die mächtigen Eigenschaften, die er ihm zuschrieb, waren wohl Gottes ursprüngliches Eigentum, Abraham war nicht ihr Erzeuger. . . . Gottes gewaltige Eigenschaften waren zwar etwas sachlich Gegebenes außer Abraham, zugleich aber waren sie auch in ihm und von ihm.²⁴

In dem sanften, wahrhaft urväterlichen Charakter Abrahams konnte eine so barbarische Anbetungsweise nicht entspringen; aber die Götter, welche manchmal, um uns zu versuchen, jene Eigenschaften hervorzukehren scheinen, die der Mensch ihnen anzudichten geneigt ist, befehlen ihm das Ungeheure.²⁵ Auch würde die Art wie in diesen Büchern Gott erscheint uns nicht mehr so drückend sein als bisher, wo er sich durchaus grauenvoll und schrecklich erzeigt; da schon im Buch Josua und der Richter, sogar auch weiter hin, ein reineres patriarchalisches Wesen wieder hervortritt und der Gott Abrahams nach wie

¹⁸ Goethe, I, 7, 178.

¹⁹ *Die Geschichten Jakobs*, LII.

²⁰ Goethe, I, 26, 205.

²¹ *Die Geschichten Jakobs*, XLIV.

²² Goethe, I, 7, 179.

²³ *Der junge Joseph*, S. 20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 52.

²⁵ Goethe, I, 26, 215-216.

vor den Seinen freundlich erscheint, wenn uns der Gott Mosis eine Zeitlang mit Grauen und Abscheu erfüllt hat. Uns hierüber aufzuklären sprechen wir aus: wie der Mann so auch sein Gott.²⁶

Eine stilistisch grammatische Vergleichung wird die gefühlsmäßige Annahme von der Verwandtheit der beiden Stile noch glaubhafter machen.²⁷—Das Breite und Behagliche in Goethes Prosastil wie auch das Majestätische ist bedingt durch die langen kunstvoll gebauten Perioden, Häufung der Adjektive, gewählte Genitivkonstruktionen und edle meist zusammengesetzte schmückende Beiwörter. All das findet sich auch in Manns Stil. Als typisches Kuriosum sei der Riensatz erwähnt, in dem Mann Joseph einführt. Es ist ein Satz, der sich über 42 Druckzeilen erstreckt. Der folgende Beispielssatz enthält eine ganze Anzahl Stileigentümlichkeiten, die sich auch in Goethes Altersstil finden:

Ihm sah sie entgegen, die eine Hand an der Flechte in der anderen den Stab, der sie überragte, und musterte den *reisemageren*^a jungen Mann im verstaubten, verfärbten zerschlissenen Rock, mit dem braunen Bart im *dunkel verschwitzten*^b Gesicht, das nicht das eines Knechtes war,—und dabei schienen die wohl eigentlich zu dicken Flügel ihres Näschens sich drollig zu blähen, und die Oberlippe, die untere ein wenig überhängend, bildete mit ihr in den Mundwinkeln von selbst und ohne Muskelanziehung etwas sehr *Liebes*,^c ein ruhendes Lächeln aus. Aber das *Hübscheste*^c und *Schönste*^c war eben ihr *Schauen*,^d war der^e durch Kurzsichtigkeit eigentümlich verklarte und versüßte *Blick*^e ihrer schwarzen, vielleicht ein klein wenig schief geschlitzten Augen: dieser Blick in den, ohne Übertreibung gesagt, die Natur allen Liebreiz, gelegt hatte, den sie einem Menschenblick nur irgend verleihen mag,—eine tiefe, fließende, redende, schmelzende, freundliche Nacht, voller Ernst und Spott wie Jaakob dergleichen noch nie gesehen hatte oder gesehen zu haben meinte.²⁸

(Statt der Titel der Josephromane werden im Folgenden Nummern zitiert: *Die Geschichten Jaakobs*—I, *Der junge Joseph*—II, *Joseph in Ägypten*—III. F mit einer Nummer bedeutet die Zeile, im zweiten Teil des Faust, die das Zitat enthält. Es hilft dem Verständnis, wenn der Leser bedenkt, daß der *Divan* in Band VI, die *Noten zum Divan* in Band VII stehen.)

a. Die mit Substantiven zusammengesetzten Adjektiva und Partizipperfektförmungen sind ein antikisierendes Sprachelement.

MANN	GOETHE
friedesüß (III, 44)	mauerbräunlich (F 9123)
tränensackunterhangen (III, 292)	marktverkauft (F 8783)
zeitversunken (I, xi)	erdgebeugt (F 8588)
taldurchfurcht (III, 47)	

b. Im Allgemeinen machen erst die Bindestriche eine kopulative Zusammenrückung, aber der Gebrauch der Bindestriche ist bei beiden

²⁶ Goethe, VII, 180.

²⁷ Der folgenden Stilanalyse wurde zugrundegelegt: P. Knauth, *Goethes Sprache und Stil im Alter* (Leipzig, 1898).

²⁸ *Die Geschichten Jaakobs*, S. 209.

Dichtern gefühlsmäßig. Die kopulativen Zusammenrückungen sind bei Mann so häufig, daß man sie als eins der auffälligsten Kennzeichen seines Stils bezeichnen kann. Das Gleiche gilt für den alten Goethe. Im zweiten Teile des Faust findet man diese Form stellenweise auf jeder Seite. Namentlich die reflektierenden und theoretischen Stellen im Josephroman gebrauchen dies Stilmittel. Auf den ersten vier Seiten der "Höllenfahrt" gibt es deren acht!

MANN

natürlich-lusthaft
übernatürlich-elend
praktisch-tatsächlich
persönlich-geschichtlich
gesprächig-lebensvoll
berühmt angenehm (I, i-viii)

GOETHE

schalkhaft-eigensinnig (VII, 137)
physisch-klimatisch (VII, 40)
moralisch-klimatisch (VII, 40)
ruhig-rein (VII, 40)
seeisch-heiter (F 7510)
geistig-streng (F 11492)

Eine Abart der kopulativen Zusammensetzungen sind die Oxy-mora:

neugierig feig (I, lxii)
lebensvoll-leidensträchtig (I, 335)
ruhig-wild (III, 104)

durchs rauhe milde Leben (VI, 45, 56)
Überfüllten ewigleeren Hades (F 9341)
erkranketest gesundend (VI, 151, 22)

c. Substantivierte Neutra des Adjektivs geben der Sprache etwas Feierliches und Abstraktes. Diese Neutra sind das Merkmal der sokratischen Philosophie, und es sind besonders philosophische Stellen, in denen sie sich bei Mann und Goethe in großer Zahl anfinden. Die folgenden Beispiele aus dem Josephroman stammen alle aus der Unterredung Huijs und Tuijs, wo die Gottessorge immer von neuem mit solchen Abstrakta umschrieben wird. In Goethes Altersstil finden sich diese Neutra in solcher Menge, daß es nicht lohnt, viele herauszugreifen. Nur die betreffenden Formen aus dem Chorus Mysticus werden für Goethe angeführt.

MANN

Das Dunkel, das Allerwichtigste, das
Heilige, das Weltneue, das Heilig-
Alte, das Herrliche, das Herrlich-
Neue, das Tote, das Männische, das
Mutterdunkel, das Reinere, das
Vatergeistige, das Einzig-Einmalige,
das Fehlerhafte, das Göttliche, das
Irdische, das Schriftlich-Vernünftige,
das Wahre, das Rechte (III, 241-269)

GOETHE

das Vergängliche
das Unzulängliche
das Unbeschreibliche
das Ewig-Weibliche
(Chorus Mysticus)

d. Das vom Infinitiv abgeleitete Verbalnomen hat die urdichterische Funktion, das Starre des Substantivums in Bewegung aufzulösen. "Le vivre, le vouloir, le sentir sont des expressions moins abstraits que la vie, la volonté, le sentiment et tout ce qui tend à changer la pensée en action donne toujours plus de mouvement au style."²⁹

²⁹ Madame de Stael, *De l'Allemagne*, Oeuvres complètes, X (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1820), 260.

MANN
 Warum klopft uns das Herz vor
 Fleischesbängen (I, lxii)
 sein Herz war voller Flehen (I, 348)

GOETHE
 weit- und breiten Landes
 Durchschweifen (VI, 83)
 die Sonne kommt! ein Pracht-
 erscheinen! (VI, 154)

e. Große Zangenkonstruktionen finden sich bei beiden Dichtern, besonders aber in den Noten zum Divan, wo fast auf jeder Seite eine Zange zu finden ist. Eine der längsten Zangen in der deutschen Literatur dürfte der Satz sein, der den jungen Joseph "zu seiner Zeit" vorstellt. "Seine Zeit" füllt 38 Druckzeilen als Inhalt einer Zange. Ein paar weitere Stileigentümlichkeiten seien noch herausgegriffen, die in unserem Muster- und Paradesatz nicht vorkamen:

Adverbiale Qualitätsgenitive geben der Sprache etwas Feierliches und Gewähltes.

MANN
 lächelnden Mundes (III, 239)
 geröteten Angesichts (III, 297)

GOETHE
 Blitzartig, schwarzen Flugs
 umgeben (F 7786)
 blutig trüben Blicks (F 8687)

Substantivische Komposita, bei denen übergeordnetes Nomen und attributiver Genitiv zusammengedrückt sind, sind stilistisch unauffälliger aber sehr häufig.

MANN
 Fleischesbängen (I, lxii)
 Glückesrührung (I, 209)
 Fleischesehre (III, 251)

GOETHE
 Tagesblick (F 4663)
 Geistesohren (F 4667)
 Geisteszwang (F 9963)

Goethes und Manns Werke sind reich an sprachlichen Neubildungen, aber auch den zu ihrer Zeit bestehenden Wortschatz haben beide Dichter in einem Maße beherrscht, das in den meisten Fällen das Maß ihrer Leser übersteigen wird. Schon ein flüchtiges Durchblättern von Fischers Goethe-Wortschatz oder des kürzlich erschienenen Faustwörterbuchs³⁰ kann davon überzeugen. Die folgenden Wörter sind aus den Josephromanen und dem stilistisch verwandten Lotteroman zusammengetragen. Es sind fast alles gute deutsche Wörter, aber auch dem erfahrenen Germanisten dürfte die Mehrzahl fremd sein, es sei denn, er kenne sich außer in seinem Gebiet in so entlegenen Dingen aus wie Jagd, Botanik, Meteorologie, Landwirtschaft, Mundarten und Berufssprachen. Wörter wie "Feder" haben in der folgenden Liste natürlich eine ungewöhnliche Bedeutung.

³⁰ Hohlfeld, Joos, Twaddell, *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1940).

der Barch (III, 266)
 der Besenstrich (Lotte, 303)
 der Blütenstand (III, 278)
 der Büttel (III, 630)
 dappeln (III, 183)
 falzen (I, 29)
 die Farsarelle (I, 241)
 die Feder (III, 266)
 der Feldspat (I, 238)
 die Franbaserei (I, 238)
 der Fruchtknoten (III, 278)
 das Gebrech (III, 266)
 das Gezündel (I, 320)
 der Griffel (III, 277)
 der Haken (III, 266)
 das Heckbett (III, 635)
 heilige Hermandad (I, 12)
 der Hämling (III, 632)
 der Hutzel (III, 633)
 kaudern (III, 632)

der Kaulkopf (III, 632)
 kauzig (III, 632)
 der Kielkropf (III, 484)
 die Kögigkeit (III, 374)
 laustern (III, 632)
 luschen (III, 632)
 metzen (III, 101)
 die Narbe (III, 277)
 plieräugig (III, 97)
 die Pußlichkeit (III, 183)
 die Rispe (III, 287)
 rösch (I, 302)
 die Sange (II, 177)
 die Sparte (I, 346)
 spillerig (I, 107)
 das Techtel-Mechtel (I, 119)
 der Windbaum (I, 303)
 würmen (I, 318)
 die Zaupen (III, 632)

Daß der Josephroman kein Verwandter der kulturhistorischen Romantik der Dahn, Ebers, Scheffel ist, versteht sich. Nur wo Verständnis für den Mythos vorliegt, haben wir einen literarischen Verwandten des Josephromans. Trotz Fr. Schlegels Ruf nach der neuen Mythologie ist das neunzehnte Jahrhundert im Dichterischen kaum über Spielereien mit dem Mythos hinausgekommen. Ausnahmen wie Wagner, Morris, Spitteler u.a. haben eigentlich den Mythos nur als Einkleidung ihrer Privatphilosophie gebraucht. Tiefer geht Hebbel in seinem dramatischen Fragment "Moloch," in dem der Grundgedanke Manns als Tragödienstoff erscheint: Die Geburt der Kultur aus dem Geiste der Religion. Fast gleichzeitig mit Manns erstem Josephroman erschien die Urväter-Saga Bluncks.⁸¹ Diese Romane aus fernster Vorzeit sind keine spielerische Romantik wie die erwähnten Professorensromane. Der Versuch, den Urmythos zu finden, hebt Bluncks Werk auf eine dichterisch höhere Ebene. Der Beginn des ersten Buches "Gewalt über das Feuer" zeigt, daß Blunck sich im Grunde die gleiche Aufgabe gesetzt hat wie Mann. "Dies ist die Sage vom Menschen, der aus der Tiefe von Gott gerufen wurde."⁸² Der Held der inneren Beunruhigung ist Börr, dem der Mannwanderer (Gott) wiederholt erscheint und Unterweisung gibt. Mit dichterischer Freiheit hat Blunck die ersten Großtaten des Menschen, die in die unbestimmbar lange Zeitspanne von der letzten Zwischeneiszeit bis in die jüngere Altsteinzeit fallen, in die Lebenszeit des gottbegnadeten Börr gelegt. Mit dem Segen des Mannwanderers gewinnt dieser Urmensch Gewalt über das Feuer, erfindet Waffen, die Harfe, zählt

⁸¹ Blunck, *Urväter-Saga* (Jena: Diederich, 1934).

⁸² *Ibid.*, S. 3.

Haustiere, läutert das tierische Gegrünze seiner Horde zur Sprache, schafft die ersten Höhlenmalereien, beendet das Matriarchat (er sagt sich von der Herrschaft Mos der Hordenältesten los), begründet die Ehe: Familie und Selbhaftigkeit beginnen. Börr ist der Führer der Horde, die den schwarzen stiergroßen Löwen, den bisherigen Herrn der Schöpfung, auf seiner Felskarste niedermacht, und dies ist im Geiste der Dichtung Börrs größte Tat. Alle drei Mythusromane des Prosa-Epos spielen auf deutschem Boden, unter Urgermanen. Dennoch nennt der einleitende Satz des Buches die Urväter-Saga "die Sage vom Menschen." Der Ugermane stellt also hier den "Menschen" dar, schafft die Urformen der Kultur, und kämpft in der Seele und im Fleische die entscheidenden Kämpfe der Menschwerdung durch. Manns Urväter-Saga will auch vom "Menschen" handeln. Die Urheimat der Kultur ist bei Blunck das Gebiet des heutigen Norddeutschland, bevölkert von Ugermanen, bei Mann der syrisch-palästinensische Winkel bevölkert von Orientalen. Blunck sieht die Gewähr für die innere Wahrheit seiner Saga in dem mythischen Wissen der Seele und des Volkstums, das ein Geisteserbe derer ist, die auch im Blute von der atlantisch-nordischen Rasse stammen, die den Menschen schuf, indem sie die Kultur schuf. Das Bluterbe ist Voraussetzung für die richtige Erkenntnis des uralten Geisteserbes, das in spärlichen Überresten und im Brauchtum auf die Erforschung wartet. In diesem Sinne (oder Un-sinne) hat Wirth sein großes Irrwerk geschrieben, mit dem ominösen Titel "Der Aufgang der Menschheit." Unter allen Angriffen auf die alte Kulturtheorie "ex oriente lux" ist Wirths raunende Beschwörung der verdreht gelehrteste. Auch Wirth versucht einen Sturz in die Brunnentiefe, allerdings zu ganz andersartigen Vätern. Er spricht von seinem "Heimgang zur Urquelle unseres Wesens, zum Urerlebnis unserer Seele,"³³ und dieser Heimgang endet bei der atlantisch-nordischen Urrasse, zu deren Großtaten sich auch Blunck bekennt. Heimgang zur Urquelle! Die Not der Zeit trieb Goethe "Patriarchenluft zu kosten." In der "Hegire" stehen die bedeutsamen Worte, die dem Josephroman als Motto dienen könnten:

Dort im Reinen und im Rechten
Will ich menschlichen Geschlechten
In des Ursprungs Tiefe dringen.

Schon zur Zeit des ersten Weltkrieges trieb die Geistessorge Mann in die Zeitentiefe:

Man forscht in den Büchern, man forscht in der Not der Zeit nach den fernsten Ursprüngen, den legitimen Grundlagen, den ältesten seelischen Überlieferungen des bedrängten Ich.³⁴

³³ H. Wirth, *Der Aufgang der Menschheit* (Jena: Diederich, 1928), S. 1.

³⁴ Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Berlin: Fischer, 1919), S. 81.

Die Ergebnisse dieses Suchens führten Mann schließlich von den hansischen Stadtvätern zu Goethes Patriarchen. Spenglers letzte historische Arbeit, vor deren Vollendung er starb, galt der gleichen Suche. In seinen Vorarbeiten umschreibt er "eine Weltgeschichte, von Anfang an; das heißt von der Zeit an, wo die menschliche Seele sich innerlich von der Tierseele abzuheben beginnt, vielfältiger und leidenvoller wird."⁸⁵ Er nennt das zweite Jahrtausend vor Christus, das Jahrtausend der Patriarchen, entscheidend für das Schicksal der weltgeschichtlichen Menschen und sieht die Schwerpunktverschiebung der Kultur in einer Bewegung nach dem "kälteren, strenger durchgeistigten, härter kämpfenden Norden."⁸⁶ Aber, abgesehen von der Frage, ob die Gesegneten des Herrn von Osten oder von Norden stammten, eine kritische Feststellung kann auch heute schon gemacht werden. Die Urmymen der Menschheit sind im Orient in geprägter Form erschienen. Manns Werk hat den gewaltigen Vorzug vor der Urväter-Saga, daß ihm die Urformen gegeben waren, während Blunck die mythischen Anfänge der menschlichen Wirklichkeit selber erfinden mußte. Mythos läßt sich aber nicht erfinden, erfundener Mythos ist und bleibt Kunstmärchen und kann deshalb nicht unsere volle Aufmerksamkeit, unseren vollen Ernst verlangen.

Manns Werk gehört also in die Goethische Tradition und ist ein Mythosroman wie Faust ein Mythosdrama ist. Insofern der faustische Trieb mehr ist als die von Friedrich Schlegel gerügte "nordische Unart"—diese Verfallserscheinung liegt im Faustischen Wesen wie wir heute wissen—ist er Geistessorge und Faust ist der Verwandte des Mondwanderers, der es mit den "lusthaft Einverstandenen" nicht halten konnte. Der Josephroman ist nach Goethes "Faust" der erste große dichterische Versuch, einen maß- und wertgebenden Mythos vom Menschen zu schaffen, den göttlichen Teil des Menschenwesens glaubhaft zu machen. In dichterischen Bildern versuchen Goethes "Prolog im Himmel" und Manns "Höllenfahrt" dieses Unbeschreibliche zu sagen. Manns Geistbegriff stammt aus der dualistischen Weltanschauung des alten Orients will aber nicht Weltentzweiung treiben sondern strebt nach der "geeinten Zwiennatur," nach einem "Menschentum, das gesegnet wäre mit Segen von oben vom Himmel herab und mit Segen von der Tiefe, die unten liegt." Das Novalisärgernis, daß der "Künstler" Meister als Wundarzt endet, wird kein moderner Leser des Josephromans empfinden, wenn Joseph Wesir des Südens geworden ist. Das beinahe sozialistische Ende des Faust und des Josephromans paßt zu dem metaphysischen Anfang. Darin liegt gerade Goethes Altersweisheit, die das Geistige und Irdische in eins sieht. Das "Vermächtnis altpersischen Glaubens" gipfelt in den Worten

⁸⁵ O. Spengler, *Zur Weltgeschichte des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends, Reden und Aufsätze* (München: Beck, 1937), S. 158.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, S. 158.

Schwerer Dienste tägliche Bewahrung,
Sonst bedarf es keiner Offenbarung.

Diese Worte könnten auch die Weisheit des reifen Joseph ausdrücken. Hier sollte nun eigentlich eine Parallelstelle aus "Joseph dem Ernährer" zitiert werden, um zu zeigen, daß Joseph als Wesir des Südens immer noch Träger der Gottessorge ist. Das abschließende Werk ist noch nicht erschienen, aber Mann hat seine Altersweisheit zu wiederholten Malen formuliert wie z.B. in der folgenden Stelle aus "Maß und Wert":

Wir kennen einen Ruf des großen Individualisten Nietzsche, der vollkommen sozialistisch lautet: "An der Erde zu freveln," lautet er, "ist jetzt das Furchtbarste. Ich beschwöre euch, meine Brüder, bleibt der Erde treu! Nicht mehr den Kopf in den Sand der himmlischen Dinge stecken, sondern frei ihn tragen, einen Erdenkopf, der der Erde Sinn schafft! . . . Eure schenkende Liebe und eure Erkenntnis diene dem Sinn der Erde. Führt gleich mir die verflogene Tugend zur Erde zurück—ja, zurück zu Liebe und Leben: daß sie der Erde einen Sinn gebe, einen Menschensinn!" Das ist der Materialismus des Geistes, die Wendung des religiösen Menschen zur Erde hin, die uns das Kosmische vertritt. Und Sozialismus ist nichts anderes als der pflichtmäßige Entschluß, den Kopf nicht vor den dringendsten Anforderungen der Materie, des gesellschaftlichen, kollektiven Lebens in den Sand der metaphysischen Dinge zu stecken, sondern sich auf die Seite derer zu schlagen, die der Erde einen Sinn geben wollen, einen Menschensinn.⁸⁷

In diesen Worten hat die Gottessorge eine wichtige Entwicklung durchgemacht. Sie ist von Jaakob dem Grübler zu Joseph dem Ernährer übergegangen.

Man kann den literarischen Ort des Josephromans innerhalb von Goethes Alterswerk auf einen Satz festlegen, einen Satz, den zu seiner Zeit nur der alte Goethe hätte schreiben können, denn er zeigt wie Goethe das eigentlich Menschliche im Faustischen sah und daß das Faustische auch ihm die Geistessorge bedeutete. Dieser Satz ist sozusagen die Verbindungsstelle mit der geistigen Welt des Josephromans:

Hier (im Garten Eden) sollte er (der Mensch des Anfanges) seine ersten Fähigkeiten entwickeln, und hier sollte ihn zugleich das Los treffen, das seiner ganzen Nachkommenschaft beschieden war, seine Ruhe zu verlieren, indem er nach Erkenntnis strebte.⁸⁸

Nachtragsweise und nur beiläufig sei auf die Verwandtschaft der mythologischen Erkenntnisse Manns mit der Mythenforschung und Mythengläubigkeit der Romantik hingewiesen. Sein Werk gehört in die Gedankenwelt der romantischen Mythen- und Vorwelterkenntnis, deren bedeutendste Namen in chronologischer Reihenfolge lauten: Hamann, Herder, Zoega, Schelling, Görres, Creuzer, Savigny, die Brüder Grimm, Karl Otfried Müller, Bachofen, Nietzsche, Lud-

⁸⁷ *Maß und Wert*, I, 13-14.

⁸⁸ Goethe, I, 26, 205.

wig Klages. Görres zeigt schon den typisch romantischen Sinn für die Tradition als Grundlage aller Gegenwart, für die Geschichte als Erkenntnisprinzip, wo es sich um Menschen und Menschendinge handelt. Der metaphysische Glaubenssatz dieser Geschichtsbetrachtung deckt sich mit Manns Erkenntnis, Geschichte ist die Wiederholung des Urgeprägten. Dieses Urgeprägte aber ist göttlichen Ursprungs. Der folgende Satz aus Görres "Mythengeschichte" enthält schon die Themen der "Höllenfahrt":

GÖRRES

So reich war jene vergangene Welt, sie ist versunken, . . . und wenn sich die Trübe der Zeitentiefe klärt, sehen wir am Grunde ihre Schätze liegen. Wir sehen aus großer Ferne in den wundervollen Abgrund nieder, wo alle Geheimnisse der Welt und des Lebens verborgen ruhen, aber ist es uns gelungen, zu ergründen die Wurzel der Dinge, die in Gott verborgen ruht? . . . Fragst du die heiligen Bücher aller Völker um der Zeiten Anfang und Beginn, sie deuten dir auf die Ewigkeit, dicht drängen in ihrem Gedächtnis sich die Jahrhunderte und runden zyklisch sich zu Götterjahren, und die sind noch größerer Systeme erste Elemente, daß deine Jahre und alle Jahre von Menschengedenken Sonnenstaub sind und ein Fingerschnalzen.³⁹

MANN

Tief ist der Brunnen der Vergangenheit, sollte man ihn nicht unergründlich nennen? . . . Da denn nun gerade geschieht es, daß je tiefer man schürft, die Anfangsgründe des Menschlichen, seiner Geschichte, seiner Gesittung, sich als gänzlich unerlotbar erweisen. . . . Der Brunnen der Zeiten erweist sich als ausgelotet, bevor das End- und Anfangsziel erreicht wird, das wir erstreben; die Geschichte des Menschen ist älter als die materielle Welt, die seines Willens Werk ist.⁴⁰

Das Eigentümliche an Manns Mythusroman auf die kürzeste Formel gebracht, lautet: Paarung von Mythus und Psychologie. Die Spannung, die daraus entsteht, äußert sich als Ironie, als leicht parodierender Unterton. Diese "parodische Schalkheit" erörtert Mann in eigener Sache im Lotteroman, trotzdem die kritischen Gedanken Goethes über klassische Walpurgisnacht und Helenaakt den Stoff dieser Erörterungen liefern. Mann spricht von dem Paradox "mythologischer Humor." Dabei gibt er dem Leser die Richtung an, wo der Ort seines Josephromans in der Weltliteratur zu finden wäre. "Und wo man schwer nimmt das Leichte, ist auch der Ort, das Schwerste leicht zu nehmen. Ist das nicht *meines Gedichtes Ort*, so hat es keinen."⁴¹ Goethe umschreibt diesen Ort, wenn er von Menipus dem hellenistischen Zyniker, von Lukian dem Parodisten spricht. Die folgenden Überlegungen Goethes in Manns Lotteroman gehen weit über die klassische Walpurgisnacht und den Helenaakt hinaus, sie definieren einen unverkennbaren "Ort" in der Weltliteratur:

³⁹ Görres, *Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt*, II, 599 ff.

⁴⁰ *Die Geschichten Jaakobs*, IX, XLV.

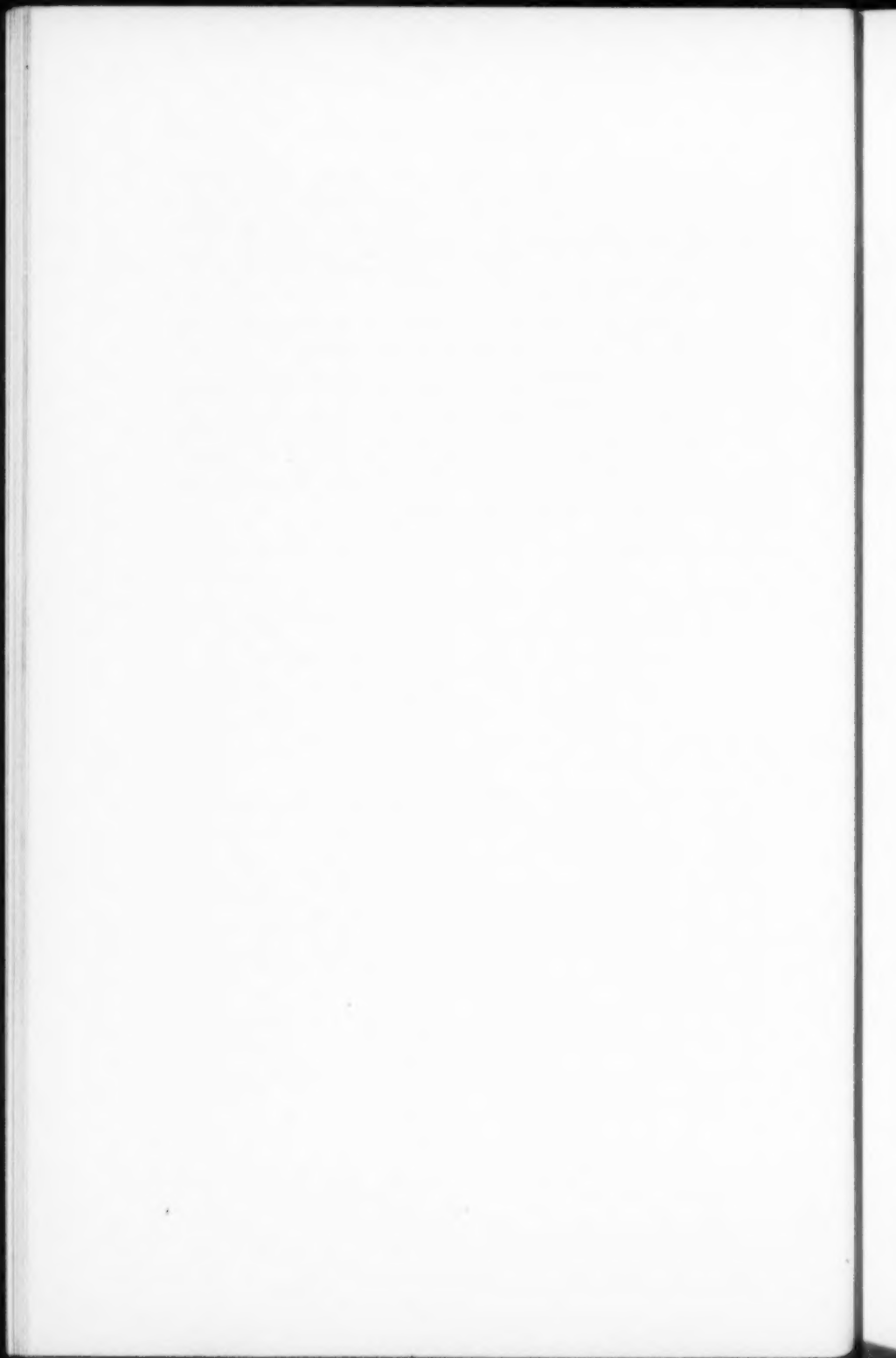
⁴¹ Lotte in Weimar, S. 353. Italics mine.

Parodie. . . . Fromme Zerstörung, lächelnd Abschiednehmen. . . . Bewahrende Nachfolge, die schon Scherz und Schimpf. Das Geliebte, Heilige Alte, das hohe Vorbild auf einer Stufe und mit Gehalten zu wiederholen, die ihm den Stempel des Parodischen verleihen und das Produkt sich späten, schon spottenden Auflösungsgebilden wie der nach-euripideischen Komödie annähern lassen. . . . Curioses Dasein . . . die Cultur der Welt von gläubiger Blüte bis zum wissen- den Verfall persönlich zu umfassen.⁴²

Das ist unverkennbar der "Ort" von Manns Josephsdichtung, der weltliterarische Ort an der Zeitenwende, in der Endzeit, die über den bloßen Spott hinaus ist, der es schon wieder Angst geworden ist um den neuen Aeon, die neue Tagesordnung, um Manns Lieblingsausdruck zu gebrauchen. War sich Goethe einer solchen Endzeit bewußt? Das Für und Wider dieser Frage geht über den Rahmen dieser Arbeit hinaus. Sie kann nur beantwortet werden im Zusammenhang mit der größeren Untersuchung, inwieweit Thomas Manns Goethegestalt dem wirklichen Goethe entspricht.

Northwestern University

⁴² Lotte in Weimar, S. 355.



JE LE VOIS SOURIRE; JE LE VOIS QUI SOURIT;
JE LE VOIS SOURIANT. PART ONE

By ANNA GRANVILLE HATCHER

As the title indicates, this article is devoted to a study of the contrast offered by the three predicative constructions possible after verbs of seeing: Infinitive, Relative Clause, Present Participle; to my knowledge, no such study has been attempted. In my paper I propose to describe only the system to be met with in Modern French; but I have followed the development of this system from Latin and Old French, and it is as a development, as a growing thing, that it is here presented: an organism with roots in the past and still putting forth new branches.

Now the alternation of the three constructions in question is not limited to verbs of seeing, but is possible also with *entendre* (*écouter*) and *sentir*—which, like *voir*, likewise refer to sense impressions. The underlying principle governing alternation of construction is basically the same in all three cases, but it would not have proved practical to treat the three together: any careful description of a visual impression could not apply exactly to an auditory or a tactile impression. And the categories which impose themselves in the case of the first could be utterly irrelevant for the others (indeed, it has been necessary to distinguish even between *voir* [*apercevoir*] and *regarder*: the type of activity which calls for the Relative Clause with *voir* is regularly represented by the Infinitive after *regarder*).

It has not, however, been the regular procedure of grammarians to recognize such a category as that of "visual impression"—or even of "sense-impression"; Tobler (*Vermischte Beiträge* . . . , II [Leipzig, 1906], 72-7) and Sandfeld (*Syntaxe du fr. cont.* [Paris, 1936], II, 146-9), in their discussion of the Relative Clause used as a predicative, include, along with *voir*, *entendre*, *sentir*, such verbs as *rencontrer*, *surprendre*, *trouver*. And Damourette-Pichon (*Essai de gram. de la langue fr.*, III, 514-5), will list, under the heading "*Pierre voit Louis manger la tarte*," examples with verbs as diverse as *apercevoir*, *attendre*, *aviser*, *faire*, *laisser*, *quitter*, *regarder*, *sentir*, *souffrir*, *surprendre*; thus, despite the wealth of material displayed in these forty pages, ranging over a period of eight centuries and illustrating every possible variety of tense and word-order, no picture is given of a single phenomenon and its grammatical reflection—only a picture of a grammatical construction.

The construction used most frequently in Modern French to express the idea "A sees B act[ing]" is that represented by *je le vois sourire*; the Infinitive has been the principal construction in this reference for over two thousand years and represents, perhaps, the original.¹ In Latin, there alternated with the Infinitive the Present Participle but, according to Marouzeau, this represented, as early as Plautus, a moribund construction which was artificially kept alive in the Latin of the Empire by the efforts of the writers; by the time of Old French it had practically disappeared in this connection² and, although rehabilitated during the Renaissance, again by the literary guild, it is today, even in the literary language, quite restricted in reference.

The real rival of the Infinitive after verbs of seeing, a rival much more vigorous and with its roots in common speech, is the Relative Clause; note the contrast offered by the two constructions in

Contre la porte vitrée de la salle, une vieille, accroupie et dont il voyait se balancer la nuque grisonnante, berçait un enfant (Th III, ii, 245-6)³

¹ According to Marouzeau ("L'emploi du participe présent latin à l'époque républicaine," *Extrait des Mém. de la soc. ling. de Paris*, XVI [1910], 40) it was not the Infinitive but the Present Participle which represented the original construction. But the hypothesis which he offers in support of his theory is unconvincing to me, based as it is upon the analogy of the development *Part. > Inf.* in Indirect Discourse; he notes first that the type *dixit . . . facturum (factum, faciendum)* preceded *dixit . . . facturum (etc.) esse*; and then assumes that a *dico eum legere* led to a *video eum legere*.

But it is surely much more reasonable to assume that a *video eum legere* preceded a *dico eum legere*; such a combination must have originally represented the addition of the Infinitive to a nucleus of finite verb and object, and this original nucleus could not have been a *dico eum* but only a *video eum* which "makes sense" before the addition of the Infinitive.

Moreover, his explanation fails utterly to explain the very form (*dico eum*) *legere* which he assumes to have been so influential: by what sort of "development" could this be derived from an original (*dico eum*) *legentem*? The development *Part. > Inf.* as indicated by Marouzeau (*facturum* [etc.] *> facturum esse*) consists simply of the addition of *esse* to the Participle and this is quite a different phenomenon from that of the substitution of the Infinitive form in general for the corresponding participial form (*facturum > facturum esse* is on the same level with *puer : bonus! > puer bonus est!*). Thus, according to the only development which he describes, we should have had a *dico eum legentem > dico eum legentem esse*. And not only would this still leave *dico eum legere* unaccounted for; it is also true that he adduces no evidence that there ever existed a *dico eum legentem*! (only *lecturum, lectum, legendum*).

In spite of the gaps in his explanation, or of his recourse to a suspect analogy, it is still possible that the main theory (*video eum legentem* precedes *video eum legere*) is true. This is a problem which can never be "proved."

² I was able to find only five examples in nine texts. On the decrease, in general, of the Pres. Part. in Old French, cf. the article of A. Stimming, *ZRPh*, X [1886], 546.

³ Below is a list of the abbreviations which I use in reference to my Modern French texts:

- AM Zola, *La faute de l'abbé Mouret* (Paris, 1911).
- Cl Maurois, *Climats* (Paris, 1937).
- CS Saint-Exupéry, *Courrier sud* (Paris, 1929).

Soit cocher, qui était ivre, s'assoupit tout à coup; et l'on apercevait de loin, par-dessus la capote, entre les deux lanternes, la masse de son corps *qui se balançait* de droite et de gauche (MB 211)

Now the type *A voit B qui . . .* does not, like the construction with Infinitive, necessarily guarantee that A sees what B is doing; it is quite possible, for instance, to find Clauses of Characteristic after *voir*, in which case the Relative Clause is subordinated not to the verb of seeing but to the antecedent noun, so that the sight of B's activity is apt to be utterly irrelevant, if not impossible: *enfin j'ai vu celui-qui-dirigeait-le-bureau*. With this exception, however, it ordinarily happens that the sight of B's activity is automatically involved in the sight of B himself—and involved as an integral part of the total perception;⁴ thus the Relative Clause, from the very beginning, was a potential rival to the Infinitive. And the important part that it plays today represents not so much a "development" as, simply, an extension of a rôle of which it was always capable: already in Latin it is possible to find the Relative Clause used with exactly the same force as an Infinitive or Present Participle (representing, that is, an element directly subordinated to the verb of seeing):

Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta
 Seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae
 Lethaeumque, domos placidas *qui praenatat*, amnem
 (*Aeneid* VI, 703-5)

Two thousand years ago then the Relative Clause was ripe for the use which it enjoys today.

The possibilities of the Relative Clause in this connection seem, however, to have been very rarely exploited, at least in the literary language: the Infinitive, helped out from time to time by the Present

DM de Maupassant, *Une vie* (Paris, 1908).

G Mauriac, *Génétrix* (Paris, 1924).

JC Rolland, *Jean-Christophe* (I, "L'aube") (Paris, n.d.).

JR Romain, *Les hommes de bonne volonté* (III, "Les amours enfantines") (Paris, 1932).

MB Flaubert, *Madame Bovary* (Paris, 1910).

PE Gide, *La porte étroite* (Paris, 1937).

PM Morand, *Ouvert la nuit* (Paris, 1922).

RS Colette, *La retraite sentimentale* (Paris, 1934).

Th Martin du Gard, *Les Thibault* (I-III, Paris, 1922, 1923).

VN Saint-Exupéry, *Vol de nuit* (Paris, 1931).

Y Loti, *Mon frère Yves* (Paris, n.d.).

⁴ Meyer-Lübke (*Grammaire des langues romanes* [Paris, 1900], III, § 631) similarly distinguishes between *clauses déterminatives* and *clauses explicatives*; it is the latter type, he says, that we may find used as a predicative after verbs of seeing.

Even here, of course, it may happen that the Rel. Clause is not directly subordinated to the verb of seeing, but is added on to the main clause as a separate element (the *qui* having something of a demonstrative force): *j'ai aperçu Pierre qui ne parut pas me voir*.

Participle, was considered adequate to express the general idea "A is aware of B and of what B is doing";⁵ it is not until the twelfth century that one is able to find in Old French evidences of any considerable tendency to replace this construction *à tout faire* by the Relative Clause—which was introduced for the purpose of achieving a stylistic variation. These beginnings have resulted today not only in the expansion of the Relative Clause as a predicative construction after verbs of seeing: they have resulted also in the refinement of the Infinitive itself, which today has a precision which contrasts utterly with the elasticity of the Latin Infinitive. Today we have an exquisitely organized system in which the two constructions are played one against the other to the end of reproducing the various aspects of visual impression.

But *only* when a visual impression is involved may the two constructions alternate; there is one sphere into which the Relative Clause has not yet penetrated: the Infinitive still represents the exclusive construction whenever we have to do with a factual statement concerned with the actuality or possibility of B's being seen to act. Compare for example the two sentences: "I have often seen him smile at her jokes" and "When I had finished, she lowered her eyes and I saw her smile gently." Only the second really describes the visual impression experienced by A; it presents the act of smiling as occurring against a background already established, and it fixes the moment at which this smile penetrated the consciousness of A; thus we are actually given a recording of a sense-impression: A serves as a mirror to reflect sense-data. But nothing whatsoever of this is contained in the generalization "I have often seen him smile"; and for this, as for all the various types of factual statement with *voir*, the most succinct and conventional presentation is the most fitting: the Infinitive. Thus if we would study the contrast of Relative Clause and Infinitive, it would be pointless to bring in such examples for comparison; we must study the two constructions only where they are allowed to alternate, only where they

⁵ As an indication of the amorphous nature of this construction in Latin, compare the following examples below from Plautus in which the Infinitive is made to do duty for all three constructions alternating in Modern French:

Quoniam extemplo a portu auro vident	Triestes ilicos, ire nos cum (Ba., 303-4)	Triestes ilicos, ire nos cum 'Tout déconfit de nous voir rentrer en ville avec notre or'
Attat! e fano recipere video se Syncerastum Leonis servum	se Syncerastum (Poe., 821)	'Tiens, tiens! je vois S. qui revient du temple'
Viden tu illum oculis venaturam facere atque aucupium auribus?	(Mi., 990)	'La vois-tu furetant de l'oeil, et l'oreille au guet?'

And, of course, as is well known, the construction *acc. cum Inf.* was regularly used in Latin in the place of a substantival clause:

Quaerere ansam, infectum ut faciat	Tace sis; non tu illum vides (Per., 670-1)	'Tais-toi donc; tu ne vois pas qu'il cherche un prétexte pour rompre le marché?'
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both serve the one purpose of establishing focus and perspective in the reproduction of visual impression.

I. Relative Clause and Infinitive

Animate activity

The introduction of the Relative Clause as an alternate of the Infinitive assured for the language a construction which, in itself, could insist upon one general type of perception; *A voit B qui . . .* always presents B as seen *in the midst of activity* (or state); it describes a visual impression in which B is the focal point, the center of an irradiating activity. Now the kind of situation in which this type of perception would, almost inevitably, be involved, is that in which A suddenly *catches sight* of B—who happens to be engaged in activity: *Moi, j'étais sur le porche de l'école quand je l'ai aperçue qui descendait de l'église* (AM 383); this is a clear-cut, easily recognizable situation. In Latin, as we have seen, and even in Old French, it was quite possible to find the amorphous Infinitive used in reference to such a situation:

Attat! e fano recipere video Syncerastum
 Leonis servum (Poe., 821)
 Par une fenestre prist fors a esgarder;
 E vit Wilalme par une terre avaler,
 Un home mort devant li aporer.
 (Wilalme, 1242-4)

Today a similar use of the Infinitive would be impossible. (And, of course, the very fact that it could be found in the earlier periods means that the Infinitive *allowed for* an emphasis upon B-perceived-in-the-midst-of-activity. But, since this construction was capable of accommodating so many various references, it could not, of itself, *insist* upon this emphasis; and the need was felt in Old French for a substitute which would, by its very construction, reproduce the stages of a visual impression as they actually occurred at the moment of perception. This the Relative Clause manages to achieve: in *je l'ai aperçue qui descendait de l'église* the two-fold arrangement suggests the element of split attention necessarily involved when both B and his activity are seen for the first time; the word-order (invariable with the Relative Clause) imitates the "order of impressions": A passes *from* a recognition of the person *to* a consideration of his activity. But what is even more important than word-order (for this same order could obtain with the Infinitive) is the presence in the predicate, not of an "infinite" but of a finite form: the Relative Clause gives reality and substance to the activity of B; the verb is capable of inflection, and the Imperfect tense, which is regularly found, invites us, after the first sharp perception of B,

to linger on the development of this activity: it serves to round off the two-fold perception—as a *vit W. par une tertre avaler, un home mort porter* could never do.⁶

⁶ Cf. also:

Il n'ot pas un archiee alee, Quant il vit an une valee Tot seul pasturer un chevruel
(Yvains, 3443-5)
Li Sarazin se iut en mi le pré, Si vit Wilalme sun bon cheval mener (Wilalme, 1932-3)
Tant dementers cum Wilalme remout les seles, Gui vit le rei travailler desur l'erbe (Ibid., 1963-4)
Gui vit sun uncle el champ a pé errer, Le cheval broche, si li est encontre alé (Ibid., 1867-8)
Un villain qui ressanbloit mor, Grant et hideus . . . Vi je seoir sor une coche (Yvains, 288-92)
Li cuens Guillelmes s'est regardez a tant, Si vit ester Ghielin et Bertran (Gormund et Isem., 594-5)

But it would have been strange indeed if, in reference to visual impression, Old French had been completely satisfied with the "levelling" construction which it had inherited from Latin: one of the most characteristic tendencies of this language was that of attempting to reflect, by means of construction, the sensuous aspects of activity. And, hand in hand with this love for the concrete went a desire to reproduce, by means of sentence structure, the actual stages of the activity involved. Glasser, *Studien zur Geschichte des fr. Zeitbegriffs* (München, 1936), pp. 13-4, has spoken of the OF tendency to "live through" the action: for example, the idea "the battle lasted without interruption from Monday to Friday" is expressed:

Cele bataille durat tut un lunsdi
e al demain e tresqu'a mercredie,
qu'el n'alaschat ne hure ne prist fin
jusqu'al juesdi devant prime un petit,
que li Franceis ne finent d'envaier
ne cil d'Arabe ne cessent de ferir
(Guillaume, V, 1122 ff.)

This tendency explains the popularity enjoyed by consecutive clauses in Old French. Compare the two-fold expressions *tant dire / que . . .*, *tant chevalchier / que . . .*:

Tant li preierent li meillor Sarrazin
Qu'el faldestoed s'es Marsilies asis
(Rolland, 451-2)

Tant chevalcherent qu'en Sarraguce sunt
(Rolland, 2689)

which refer to situations which could easily have been summed up in the single statements: "they persuaded him to sit down"; "they finally arrived at Sarragossa." Similarly we find the use of the preamble *tant faire* (*pener, exploiter*, etc.) in order to introduce continuous activity: *Tant i fist Bueves, les fossés aplana* (B. de Hantone, 10565). *Bueves aplana les fossés* would have presented the achievement as one act; since, however, this could not be done at one stroke, so it was not described in one stroke: the author imitates the gradual progress, sympathetically accompanying Bueves in the preliminary stages by *tant fist*, announcing the end of his effort by *les fossés aplana*!

And the construction with the Rel. Clause after verbs of seeing, with its two finite verbs, satisfied that same desire to reproduce the stages of a phenomenon: thus we find the type *vit Wilalme sun cheval mener* giving way to *vit W. qui sun cheval menoit*:

Et par antré les peus leanz Vit puceles jusqu'a trois çanz, Qui diverses oeuvres feisoient
(Yvains, 5193-5)

Il a regardé contremont, vit Troiens qui fuient vont (Eneas, 5667-8)

Et mes sires Yvains qui s'an antre El vergier . . . Voit apoié desor son cote Un riche home qui se gisoit Sor un drap de soie, et lisoit (Ibid., 5360-5)

Toz armez entre en la tente de paille Et veit le rei qui sospire en granz lairmes (Cour. de Louis, 2416-7)

Vez le vos la, cel prudome avenant, A cel chapel . . . Qui a ces autres vet son bon commandant (Char. de Nymes)

This particular type represents practically the only case in which the Rel. Clause was substituted for the Infinitive in Old French. But this beginning,

And so today the Relative Clause has come to represent the regular construction in such a reference. A may look up suddenly and catch sight of B, he may turn a corner and come upon him; he may note his presence for the first time, or else his perception may be renewed; he may catch sight of B inadvertently, or he may have turned deliberately to seek him out. But whenever it is desired to fix the moment at which A recognizes the presence of a person engaged in activity, we may expect to find the Relative Clause:

Il chercha des yeux son ami et l'aperçut, dans un angle, qui causait à voix basse avec maman Juju (Th III, i, 63)

Levant les yeux soudain, je vis Alissa qui riait—oui, qui riait en m'observant (PE 171)

Alors il battit le bois d'orangers. . . . Au milieu du bois, il aperçut Albine qui, ne le croyant pas si près d'elle, furetait vivement, fouillait du regard les profondeurs vertes (AM 209)

Je rentraï par le vestibule. . . . Les portes du salon et de l'antichambre étaient ouvertes; j'aperçus, dans le salon maintenant désert, mal dissimulée derrière le piano, ma tante, qui parlait avec Juliette (PE 101)

Comme elles se réfugiaient toutes deux en courant dans la basse-cour, elles aperçurent la Teuse, qui traversait la sacristie, et qui ne parut pas les voir (AM 333)

Comme elle la traversait pour aller au salon, Emma vit autour du jeu des hommes à figure grave, le menton posé sur de hautes cravates, décorés tous, et qui souriaient silencieusement, en poussant leur queue (MB 66)

Quelquefois pourtant, un curieux se haussait par-dessus la haie du jardin, et apercevait avec ébahissement cet homme à barbe longue, couvert d'habits sordides, farouche, et qui pleurait tout haut en marchant (MB 479)⁷

inspired by a sensitivity to the distinction between fact and description and by the desire to reproduce the actual stages of visual impression, has resulted in a system within which the field of visual impression represents a sphere in itself, governed by particular laws to assure the most effective application of the two recording instruments, now so sensitively attuned, Infinitive and Rel. Clause.

⁷ In these two passages from Flaubert (MB 66, 479), we find the arrangement "A vit B [. . .] et qui. . ." Between B and his activity is interposed a series of qualifying phrases, descriptive of his appearance; and when finally the activity itself is presented, it is only to add another descriptive detail: *farouche et qui pleurait tout haut; décorés tous et qui souriaient* ("with ribbons on their chests and smiles on their faces"). The *et* serves to show this equality between verb and modifying phrases: the activity is subordinated, diluted, presented as an *attribute* of the person.

This *et* may even be found when only one modifying phrase precedes the Rel. Clause; in such cases its use is optional. We find, for example:

Comme Robineau feuilletait, sans savoir d'ailleurs pourquoi, un dossier auquel travaillait le chef de bureau, il aperçut celui-ci, debout, en face de lui, et qui attendait, avec un respect insolent qu'il le lui rendit. L'air de dire: "Quand vous voudrez bien, n'est-ce pas? c'est à moi. . ." Cette attitude d'un inférieur choqua l'inspecteur (VN 171-2)

Here *attendre* represents not so much an activity as an attitude: in *debout et qui attendait* . . . , the first describes the physical, the second, the psychological attitude of B. But in the following example of *debout devant elle* we find no coupling *et*:

Elle eut un sursaut nerveux et poussa un petit cri; et, dégageant sa tête, elle vit Julien debout devant elle, qui souriait en la regardant (DM 85)

Il se pencha à la fenêtre, la vit qui poussait ses persiennes, au saut du lit (AM 192)

Dans une glace elle aperçut, les cheveux flottant au vent des fenêtres ouvertes, sa nièce qui bondissait sur place comme un chevreau, en glapissant à tue-tête (Th II, 164)

La lune éclairait à plein la lucarne. . . . Jacques aperçut une affreuse araignée qui cheminait sur le mur blafard et s'évanouit dans l'ombre (Th I, 152)

Il aperçut de loin, sur la route, le cabriolet de son patron, et à côté un homme en serpillière qui tenait le cheval. Homais et M. Guillaumin causaient ensemble (MB 167)

De loin, il l'avait aperçu, qui regardait passer le monde, à la fenêtre, avec un petit bandeau sur son front (Y 287)

Elle avait disparu durant ces mots; puis, l'apercevant qui enfilait la Grande-Rue et tournait à droite comme pour gagner le cimetière, elles se perdirent en conjectures (MB 423)

Il fut bientôt de l'autre côté de la rivière . . . ; et Emma l'aperçut dans la prairie, qui marchait sous les peupliers, se ralentissant de temps à autre, comme quelqu'un qui réfléchit (MB 180)

Tout à coup elle aperçut une mouette qui traversait le ciel, emportée dans une rafale (DM 120)

J'étais là, assis, et j'avais ma canne. . . . Je vois un monsieur et sa dame qui passent devant moi, et un enfant qui suivait par derrière. Ils causaient (Th III, i, 158)

It is in such situations that we have the most obvious case of B seen as "the center of an irradiating activity"; at that first split second when we catch sight of a person in action, it is usually upon the person himself that our attention is focused; and only when the senses have adjusted themselves to a recognition of his presence, of his existence, is A ready to settle down to a consideration of his activity: to extend his gaze from that center and follow the lines of the irradiating activity.⁸

for here Julien is actively smiling down at Jeanne (he does not simply "have a smile on his face" as in MB 66).

Sandfeld devotes a paragraph (pp. 148-9) to the type in which *qui* is preceded by a modifying clause, and lists a group of examples both with and without *et*; he does not, however, attempt to analyze the difference between the two cases. One of his examples is particularly interesting: "Je te vois belle et désirée, mais fuyante *et qui glisse*" (France, *Lys*, 319-20). Here we have an extreme case of the Rel. Clause used in an adjectival function; Sandfeld remarks "on s'attendrait à *qui glisses*," but probably the form chosen was meant to indicate the diminution of verbal force: *qui glisse* is not subject to conjugation any more than would be a *fuyante*.

⁸ This "order of impressions" is not inevitable: it may happen under certain circumstances that on catching sight of a person in the midst of activity it is upon this activity that we first focus—and identification of the agent follows. In such a case the use of the Rel. Clause is nonetheless obligatory, but the author may suggest a reverse order of impressions by using an indefinite expression (*quelqu'un, un homme*, etc.) for the first reference to B, and then, after the activity or state has been described, reveal the identity of B:

We said at the beginning that the extension and development of the Relative Clause resulted in a limitation, and thereby a refinement, of the rôle of the Infinitive. Let us see how this has been exemplified within the general situation which might be called "sudden perception of an agent"; what has there been left for the Infinitive to describe when B himself is seen for the first time? There is only *one* reference now possible for this construction: to announce that A sees B's entrance upon the stage:

Tout à coup ils virent entrer par la barrière M. Lheureux, le marchand d'étoffes (MB 348)

Enfin, un matin de décembre, vers la fin du déjeuner, on vit un individu ouvrir la barrière et s'avancer dans le chemin droit. Il portait une boîte sur son dos. C'était Bataille (DM 128)

Vers sept heures moins le quart, Quinette vit entrer un personnage qu'il avait aperçu plusieurs fois passant sur le trottoir d'en face. . . . Assez grand, dodu sans obésité, le teint fleuri . . . (JR 90)

Jerphanion se retourna. Il vit entrer dans le vaste salon un chien de petite taille, aux yeux vifs, au museau effilé, à la queue longue et fournie, au poil abondant et frisé, d'un blanc à peine jaunâtre, semé de quelques taches brunes (JR 114)

La porte s'ouvrit. On vit paraître Caulet clandestin, matois, faussement étonné (JR 32)

Quand on appella: "218: Kermadec!" on vit paraître Yves, un grand garçon de vingt-quatre ans, à l'air grave, portant bien son tricot rayé et son large col bleu (Y 11)

Et après un port d'armes . . . tous les fusils retombèrent. Alors on vit descendre du carrosse un monsieur vêtu d'un habit à broderie d'argent, chauve sur le front, portant toupet à l'occiput, ayant le teint blafard et l'apparent des plus bénignes (MB 194)

Mathilde reconnut l'estrade que sa belle-mère avait autrefois fait dresser dans chaque chambre, afin de pouvoir commodément suivre les allées et venues de son fils. . . . C'était sur une de ces estrades . . . qu'un jour de ses fiançailles Mathilde avait vu se dresser l'énorme femme furieuse, piétinante et criant: . . . (G 13-4)

Le pâtre épouvanté qui s'enfuit vers Tirynthe
Se tourne, et voit d'un oeil élargi par la crainte
Surgir au bord des bois le grand fauve en arrêt
(Heredia, *Némée*)

Un grand escalier droit montait vers un corridor. Emma tourna la clenche d'une porte, et tout à coup, au fond de la chambre, elle aperçut un homme qui dormait. C'était Rodolphe. (MB 227)

Mais soudain la voiture s'arrêta; et Julien criait, appelant quelqu'un par derrière. Alors Jeanne et le baron, s'étant penchés aux portières, aperçurent un être singulier qui semblait rouler vers eux. Les jambes embarrassées dans la jupe flottante de sa livrée, aveuglé par sa coiffure qui chavirait sans cesse, agitant ses manches comme des ailes de moulin, patatageant dans les larges flaques d'eau qu'il traversait éperdument, trébuchant contre toutes les pierres de la route, se trémoussant, bondissant et couvert de boue, Marius suivait la calèche de toute la vitesse de ses pieds (DM 139)

In the second example, the momentary bewilderment experienced by A in that first second of non-recognition, is not allowed immediately to resolve itself: the author deliberately prolongs this second of suspense beyond its original bounds.

The two constructions, as illustrated by *A vit entrer B* and *A aperçut B qui marchait*, represent two utterly distinct types. In the first place, when the activity of B consists of his sudden appearance, there can be no question of "B seen in the midst of activity": it is only by virtue of his *having* appeared that B can be seen at all. Here, too, of course, it could be said that an element of split attention is involved, but in this case the "order of impressions" would be rather the reverse of that first considered: with *A vit entrer B* it is the activity which first strikes the attention: A is aware, first, that someone has made an appearance, that something has suddenly entered his range of vision—and only then does he recognize the entrant.⁹ And, once B is recognized, activity ceases to exist: "perception of activity" gives way to "perception of B." This, obviously, is not the relationship between the two stages in *A vit B qui marchait*: perception of the person does not give way to consideration of his activity. Instead, the two are fused in the second stage: our attention, first attracted to the man, remains attached thereto, while absorbing the details of his enduring activity. Indeed, only with this type can A really *see B act*—since, with *A vit entrer B*, the "activity" consists merely of (or conditions) B's appearance to view, his becoming visible. Thus, while both types describe the sudden visibility of B, this is *all* that is involved in *A vit entrer B*, which leaves us simply with the picture of a man; but the first type begins with a description of B—and fills out the picture by reproducing his continuous activity.

And the rhythm of the two arrangements is quite different: with the Infinitive the sentence usually ends on a climactic note: with the announcement, postponed for purposes of suspense, of B-made-visible. But the type with the Relative Clause, where this announcement is made toward the beginning, ends with falling stress, as the

⁹ Thus it is fitting that announcement of B should be postponed; with verbs of this type we regularly find the inverted word-order which offers a climactic presentation of B: *on vit paraître Yves, un grand garçon*. . . . In the example below, however, the order is the reverse:

Puis, je me suis mis à courir, devant moi, pour atteindre le plus vite possible un coin de rue . . . où j'avais des chances de voir Hélène passer. . . . Mais l'idée que j'étais sûr de revoir Hélène de toute façon restait sans force. . . . Soudain, je vis Hélène arriver toute seule, sur le trottoir d'en face (JR 74)

Since in this case we know that it is Hélène herself for whom the subject is waiting, the arrangement *je vis arriver Hélène* would create an impression of surprise, of climax, that would ring false. And it must be noted that it is the effect *upon the reader* that determines the choice of word-order: the subject himself, tormented as he was by the doubts of a lover, may really have been "surprised" when he actually saw his sweetheart in the flesh. But we are not surprised.

attention lingers on the aspects of the activity radiating from B.¹⁰ One could not ask for types more disparate than are *A vit entrer B* and *A vit B qui marchait*. And yet they were once housed by the same construction.

Halfway between these two extremes is the type *A voit venir (s'avancer) B*. Like the type with the Infinitive already considered, this refers to the entrance of B upon the stage; and yet, just as is true of the construction with the Relative Clause, it describes activity that is continuous: it could be said that *A voit venir B*, too, presents B as seen in the midst of activity. Thus the ultimate fate of the original *voir venir (video accedere)* was subject to two contrary forces, and in Old French we may note some fluctuation: under the influence of the growing development of the Relative Clause one occasionally finds *A voit B qui vient (Voient les nes pres del rivaige, qui a terre viennent o naige, [Eneas 568-9])*; today, however, the form *voir venir (avancer)* seems to be fixed—at least in the literary language. But the reflexive *s'en venir* regularly takes the Relative Clause:

Un après-midi, comme elles se reposaient sur le banc . . . elles aperçurent tout à coup, au bout de l'allée, un gros prêtre qui s'en venait vers elles. Il salua de loin, prit un air souriant, salua de nouveau (DM 34)

Or Jeanne, un après-midi, lisait auprès du feu . . . , quand elle aperçut soudain le comte de Fourville qui s'en venait à pied et si vite qu'elle crut un malheur arrivé. Elle descendait vivement pour le recevoir (DM 277)

This would seem to indicate that two types of visual impression are possible when A sees B coming toward him: (1) "There's B! he's coming my way"; (2) "Someone is coming! It's B." The Infinitive would be limited to the latter type, suggesting that A is first aware of "approach" on someone's part; then he identifies the approacher. This was obviously the case in the example below:

Oh! mon cher petit Pierre, comme je l'avais embrassé fort en arrivant sur cette route de Toulven! De très loin, j'avais vu venir ce petit bonhomme, que je ne reconnaissais pas, et qui courait à ma rencontre en sautant comme un cabri (Y 359)

¹⁰ There is, however, a considerable variety possible with the Rel. Clause: if B is announced immediately then we have only falling movement: *Comme ils sortaient de la cour, ils virent Favery qui accourait aux nouvelles* (Th III, i, 28). More often, however, the announcement of B is postponed, involving a slight degree of suspense, with the result that we have first a rising, then a falling, movement:

Il se fit un bruit de pas sur le trottoir, Charles regarda; et à travers la jalousie baissée, il aperçut au bord des halles, en plein soleil, le docteur Canivet qui s'essuyait le front avec son foulard (MB 257)

And in the interesting example below from Martin du Gard, the crescendo movement, gathering new momentum with each anticipatory phrase, carries us almost to the end—when there is a sudden fall into sheer bathos!

Elle revint au compartiment. . . . Et, dans le fond, elle aperçut, bien installé en face de Mme de Fontaine, un bras dans la boucle de la suspension, et, la tête tournée vers le paysage, l'oncle Jérôme qui mordait dans un pain au jambon (Th III, ii, 41)

But it must be admitted that in most cases with *voir venir* there is little in the context to insist on any specific type of visual impression; in general we must accept (the exceedingly frequent) *A voit venir B* as a stock expression, representing the conventional way of announcing approach—however the “order of impressions” may have been. The *one* contrast that it opposes to an (occasional) *A voit B qui s'en vient* is an emphasis on approach, on increasing nearness, increasing revelation to view. With *elles aperçurent un gros prêtre qui s'en venait*, the camera first picks out the priest, and then follows his progress—but just as it might follow the movement of a person regardless of the direction in which he is going (*je l'ai aperçue qui descendait de l'église*). With *voir venir*, however, direction, i.e., approach toward A, is all important.

Ordinarily this particular emphasis of *voir venir* (*s'avancer*) is taken for granted. But because this suggestion is always underlying, we occasionally find the “stock expression” used to achieve a very special effect; the word-order that usually obtains with the Infinitive, whereby the announcement of B is postponed for purposes of suspense, is made to serve as a heralding device: “behold the advent of . . . !”

Elle ne se présentait pas, et l'on entendit des voix qui chuchotaient:—Vas-y! . . . Qu'elle approche donc! Alors on vit s'avancer sur l'estrade une petite vieille femme de maintien craintif, et qui paraissait se ratatiner dans ses pauvres vêtements. Elle avait aux pieds de grosses galoches de bois . . . (MB 208)

Pourtant, lorsqu'il retrouva son palier, lorsqu'il reconnut le lustre allumé . . . , il éprouva une douceur . . . à sentir autour de lui l'enveloppement de ces habitudes anciennes; et lorsqu'il vit venir, boitillant vers lui du fond de l'antichambre, Mademoiselle, plus menue, plus branlante que jamais, il eut envie de s'élancer (Th I, 186)

Il attendait que le matin prit cette allée pour couler jusqu'à lui. Il le sentait venir dans un souffle tiède. . . . Il le goûtait venir, d'une saveur de plus en plus nette. . . . Il le respirait venir avec . . . l'odeur de la terre. . . . Il l'entendait venir, du vol léger d'un oiseau. . . . Il le voyait venir, du fond de l'allée, des prairies trempées d'or, l'air rose, si gai, qu'il éclairait son chemin d'un sourire, au loin gros comme une tache de jour, devenu en quelques bonds la splendeur même du soleil (AM 164)

Elle a vu, par la plage éblouissante et plate,
S'avancer le vainqueur que son amour rêva.
C'est lui. Sabres au flanc, l'éventail haut, il va
(Heredia, *Le Samourai*)

Here what is reproduced is a psychological attitude: the attitude of expectancy on the part of A; in the first three examples it is clearly indicated that he has been led to be on the look-out, and there is a suggestion of this in the last (. . . *que son amour rêva*). The author would have us share this expectancy, would have us, too, “look forward” to seeing B.

Indeed it may happen that this construction of suspense is used deliberately to *create* a mood of expectancy on the part of the reader (even when no similar attitude may be assumed on the part of A). Péguy, in his poem *La tapisserie de Sainte Geneviève et de Jeanne d' Arc*, begins his description of the triumphant progress of St. Joan with the heralding device "... *pourqu'elle* [Ste. Geneviève] *vât venir sur un cheval de guerre* ...," and releases the tension thus created only a score of pages later when, after having offered line upon line descriptive of the approaching unknown figure, he finally discloses her identity:

Pour qu'elle vît venir sur un cheval de guerre,
 Conduisant tout un peuple au nom de Notre Père,
 Seule devant sa garde et sa gendarmerie:
 Engagée en journée ainsi qu'une ouvrière ...
 Arborant l'étendard semé de broderie ...
 Filant pour ses drapeaux comme une filandière ...
 Rinçant ses beaux drapeaux à l'eau de la rivière ...
 Ravaudant ses drapeaux comme une roturière ...
 Teignant ses beaux drapeaux comme une teinturière ...
 Pour qu'elle vît venir ardente et militaire,
 Obéissante et ferme et douce et volontaire ...
 Hauturière et docile, alerte et droiturière ...
 Bien en selle en avant de sa cavalerie ...
 Ameutant ses tambours qui battaient pour la messe ...
 Bien allante et vaillante et sans étourderie ...
 Sage comme une aïeule en sa tendre jeunesse,
 Cadette ayant conquis le plus beau droit d'ainesse,
 Grave et les yeux plus clairs que d'une chanoinesse,
 La sainte la plus grande après sainte Marie.

Now, in contrast both to *A voit entrer (venir) B* and *A voit B qui marche*, let us consider the type of perception involved in such a statement as "John was silent for a moment; then I saw him turn and walk out." Here there is no necessity to recognize B for the first time, since he is clearly within A's range of vision, nor, obviously, does A see unidentified activity erupt before him: B has been seen from the beginning—now he may be *seen-to-act*. Here, too, we may find the Relative Clause alternating with the Infinitive.

If we think of the construction with the Relative Clause as a two-fold arrangement: *A voit B—qui marche*, it might seem strange to find this construction, with its first emphasis upon perception of B himself, used in reference to a situation where the sight of B is taken for granted; it would appear that this must represent a weakening of the original force and could have come about only after a long development. But the same weakening and development had already taken place long before within the system of verbs of seeing with the Infinitive itself (and Present Participle): surely

eum video facere was originally two-fold, intended to emphasize perception-of-B (and the lingering traces of this emphasis made possible in Old French a *jo vis W. mener un cheval*). Already, however, by the time of historical Latin it had become possible to speak of "seeing B (act)," in order to say that an *activity* (on the part of B) was seen. The introduction of the Relative Clause made for a revival of the original two-fold rhythm, with a first emphasis upon B; but it was only inevitable that this, too, once it was accepted as a new member of an old system, would come likewise to acquire a greater emphasis on activity; already in Old French I was able to find one example of the Relative Clause in reference to the sight of activity on the part of persons already seen:

Et de ce granz pitiez li prant
 Qu'il ot et voit et si antant
 Les povres dames qui feisoient
 Grant duel antr'eles, si disoient . . .
 (*Yvains*, 4357-60)¹¹

But the Relative Clause followed the path once taken by the Infinitive only to a certain point: though it entered into the territory which we are now considering (B, already seen, is seen-to-act), it has occupied only one section thereof; today it still retains its original implication that B is seen *in the midst of action*. In practical terms this would mean that the Relative Clause is used to refer to all activity that is seen as continuous; and the Infinitive, relieved of this function, is now reduced to a reference to perfective activity.¹²

But the limitation, the refinement, of the Infinitive goes much farther than can be covered by the grammatical term "perfective": it has become in Modern French an instrument for the reproduction of a very distinctive type of human activity:

Elle les chassa. Et comme elle allongea le cou . . . elle vit la Rosalie se pendre aux épaules du grand Fortuné qui l'attendait (AM 96)

¹¹ Cf. a parallel passage in the same text in which the Infinitive is used:

Et il les veoit esragier
 Et forsener et correcier,
 Et disoient . . . (*Yvains*, 1109-11)

One may note, however, that in the last line there is a sudden shift to a finite form. It was the desire for the impression of enduring reality, which only a finite verb can give, that ultimately led to the use of the Rel. Clause in such cases.

¹² It must be remembered that we are speaking only of *animate activity*, and that we are considering only descriptions of *visual impressions*. It is quite possible to use the Infinitive in reference to the continuous activity of an *inanimate object* (*je voyais couler le fleuve*), and even of a person, if only a *factual statement* is involved (*on le voyait comme autrefois parcourir le village*); each category must be examined separately for indications as to the inroads made by the Rel. Clause. And finally, none of the remarks concerning constructional usage after *voir* or *apercevoir* can be made to apply with any accuracy to the verb *regarder*.

L'auto démarra. Alors seulement Daniel eut un mouvement de colère. Il se reprenait déjà, lorsqu'il vit le buste clair de la jeune femme se pencher hors de la voiture et arrêter net le chauffeur (Th III, i, 99)

Mais il vit à ce mot le buste de Mlle Bernadine se pencher vers lui, et lui dire ses yeux (JR 157)

Elle voulut connaître son enfant! . . . lorsqu'elle . . . le vit ouvrir la bouche, pousser ses vagissements, elle fut inondée d'une joie irrésistible (DM 193)

Daniel vit Favery lever le menton comme s'il prenait le vent, et fixer sur Rinette son regard clignotant (Th III, i, 85)

Le radio amorça un geste pour toucher l'épaule de Fabien, le prévenir, mais il le vit tourner lentement la tête, et tenir son visage, quelques secondes, face à ce nouvel ennemi, puis lentement, reprendre sa position primitive (VN 72)

On voyait à cet instant-là des têtes de matelots se tourner involontairement vers cette dernière bande de lumière (Y 349)

Puis, voyant le prêtre protester de la tête, lui coupant le parole: Non, non, il n'y a pas de Dieu (AM 85)

Il vit ses paupières s'abaisser . . . en signe d'aveu, et sa tête s'incliner deux fois (Th III, 228)

"Oui, Jacques, je suis heureuse, mais . . . j'ai un peu peur des brigands." Il la vit doucement sourire (CS 118)

Il luttait, en effet. L'abbé lui vit esquisser avec le gras du pouce un rapide signe de croix sur son gilet, à la place du cœur (Th II, 133)

Mais il sortit d'un bond, en voyant le Frère allonger le pied (AM 50)

On vit tout à coup deux de ces danseurs qui se tenaient par la taille, se jeter à terre, toujours serrés l'un à l'autre (Y 326)

Un homme, brandissant une hache, se jeta dans la mêlée; on le vit trébucher, tomber, se relever; il tenait le cheval gris par une oreille (Th I, 143)

Allons! fit-elle enfin; il faut se réveiller. . . Je la vis se lever, faire un pas en avant, retomber comme sans force sur une chaise voisine (PE 236)

Chacun voulait serrer la main du maître. Christophe vit une enthousiaste porter cette main à ses lèvres, et une autre dérober le mouchoir que Hassler avait laissé sur le coin de son pupitre (JC 166-7)

Clara était sans corsage . . . ; au moment où je poussais le battant, je l'ai vue saisir sa cravache (Th III, i, 200)

Elle l'avait suivi, l'avait vu prendre le porte-feuille (Th I, 126)

Jacques ne pouvait détacher ses yeux de cet homme. Il le vit mettre au coin des lèvres un mégot qu'il tenait à la main, puis se pencher sur le cheval gris, soulever la langue gonflée, déjà noire de mouches, introduire l'index dans la bouche et découvrir les dents jaunâtres (Th I, 144)

Halte! fit Abel en me saisissant par le bras. Nous vîmes alors l'inconnu s'approcher de Juliette et prendre la main que celle-ci lui abandonna sans résistance (PE 107)

Jacques . . . s'élança vers la gauche. Mais Daniel? Il se retourna: Daniel s'échappait, lui aussi. Jacques le vit à son tour bousculer la rangée des fourmis, dégringoler les échelles, sauter sur le quai et tourner à droite (Th I, 120)

According to these examples, the Infinitive, when used to recreate the visual impression involving the behavior of a person already

seen, is limited to the description of one specific type of activity: bodily movement, precise and clear-cut, generally sudden and of momentary duration, but always "pure" of outline—i.e., it is not a composite of many acts as are, for example, *déjeuner*, *écrire une lettre*, *se déshabiller*, *laver la vaisselle*, etc. These, too, are "perfective" activities, but one does not find a **je le vis déjeuner*; though one might find *alors je le vis saisir un pain qu'il entama*—which, like the examples above, would reproduce only one single clear-cut movement, not further reducible.

At first glance, perhaps, nothing would seem more commonplace than such an example as *alors je le vis se pencher*. But when one realizes that it represents a particular category, of such precise specifications, and the only category in which *voir* + Infinitive may appear (in reference to animate activity),¹³ then it becomes evident that this is not commonplace, but a "distinctive" type, and one can only marvel at the delicate discrimination which it reveals.

Why is this type today reserved for the Infinitive;¹⁴ what light does this narrow limitation of function shed on the streamlined

¹³—At least, when *voir* appears in an independent clause. When, however, we find such an arrangement as *en le voyant . . . , désolé de le voir . . .*, this is an indication that the description of visual impression is somewhat subordinated to the information contained in the main clause; and in this, more factual, reference, the Infinitive is permitted in reference to activity less clear-cut:

Puis, au bout d'un silence, désolé de le voir bouter . . . il ouvrit enfin les lèvres (AM 256)

Antoine ne put se défendre de sourire en voyant le petit homme s'aventurer en sautillant sur le parterre (Th III, i, 12)

But one would hardly say **je la vis (voyais) bouter*, or **je le vis (voyais) s'aventurer en sautillant sur le parterre*.

And, even in an independent clause, one must make an exception of the one verb *venir*: just as was true in the case of "first perception," this verb may be found in the Infinitive to refer to continuous or progressive activity:

La dame accourut, aussi vite que la traine de sa robe pouvait le lui permettre. Christophe la voyait venir, et il ne cherchait pas à fuir (JC 28)

Here, particularly, we must admit the existence of a fixed phrase (in Old French the one combination *voir venir* accounted for more than 25 per cent of all appearances of *voir* + Inf.).

¹⁴ Or, perhaps, the even more important question is: why is this type so frequent today—regardless of construction? Why are modern writers so sensitive to the picturesque qualities of the slight, the fleeting, the minute? For this does seem to be a modern tendency: in Plautus I was not able to find a single example comparable to *alors je le vis se pencher, trébucher*; and even in Old French it has appeared, in my texts, only with a subordinate clause representing a recapitulatory device: "Quant Eliduc la veit *passer*" (Eli., 663); here there is no attempt to reproduce a single physical movement as the picture first flashed upon the consciousness of A. In the earlier periods such commonplace, such "minute" acts were not considered worthy of being photographed: in Old French the artists used *voir* for pictures of more majestic proportions. One remembers all the *la veissiez (qui li vist) tanz healmes fraindre*, etc., of the chansons. And even the following passage, though mainly descriptive of gesture and bodily movement, is on a quite

emphasis of the Infinitive in Modern French? Surely it indicates that today this construction implies: "A's attention has been caught by an activity on the part of B"; the examples above all refer to acts of cleanly etched contours which *begin* at a given second and the initiation of which is able immediately to seize the attention of the beholder: such movements as *se pencher*, *se jeter à terre* (and even *s'approcher de*) have an *impact*, they produce a sharp impression—totally lacking with *déjeuner*, etc., of which the beginning stage does not distinguish itself but blurs with the stages preceding and following.

This quality of impact may remind us of the first type with Infinitive considered: *A vit entrer B*. Moreover, with *A vit B se pencher*, there may even be present something of that "split attention" characteristic of the first. For often when a person has been in sight for some time we tend to give him only half our attention, we see him perhaps out of the corner of our eye—until he makes a sudden movement which strikes our consciousness, and directs our attention *back* to the person; here, too, we may have two stages of perception, the "order of impressions" being *from activity to agent*. When Favery lifts his head "*comme s'il prenait le vent*" (Th III, i, 85), Daniel's attention, attracted *by that movement*, comes to focus itself on Favery's expression (so that he is able to catch a glance which otherwise might have passed unperceived). Again, in *On vit tout à coup deux de ces danseurs se jeter à terre*, it is only as a result of this sudden movement that this couple, previously seen vaguely as members of a group, drew special attention to itself. Thus a "unit-perception" is not guaranteed by the fact that B has already been seen; one is constantly renewing one's sight of the persons within one's range of vision; the Infinitive indicates that it is by virtue of sudden activity on their part that they again receive our attention.¹⁸

Or, if our gaze is already centered on B as he initiates activity, as was probably the case with *il la vit doucement sourire*, then we are apt to concentrate on activity at the expense of the agent: for one split second it is the activity that seizes our attention, and

different level from an *alors on le vit se pencher*: here there is no purity of outline but a mighty confusion and agitation of body and soul:

Chi dunt li vit sun grant dol demener,
Sun piz debatre e sun cors dejetter,
Ses crins derumpre e sen vis maiseler,
Sun mort amfant detraire ed acoler,
Mult fust il dur ki n'estoüst plurer (Aleris, 426-30)

But today we high-light the microscopic and the fleeting.

¹⁸ It must be noted that here the word-order is exactly the reverse of that normally found with the first type (*A vit entrer B*). This is because we have already been informed of B's presence on the stage, and the inverted word-order, which always serves to give a climactic announcement of B, would strike a false note.

awareness of the agent becomes marginal; the agent is only the *locus* of activity. It is not possible, outside of Wonderland, to see a smile *without* a Cheshire Cat; but when the Cheshire Cat at which we have been looking breaks into a smile, then it is *Smile* which occupies the center of our consciousness, while *Cat* becomes the background for the smile. (For a smile, a movement, a gesture can exist in itself—or else the language would not possess such expressions as “*un sourire lui vint aux lèvres*” or “il eut *un haussement d’épaules*.”)¹⁸

If, then, the Infinitive represents a signal that A's attention has been caught by the initiation of activity on the part of B, the construction with the Relative Clause serves precisely to blur the beginnings, to present activity as already in progress—or, as was said above, to present B as the center of irradiating activity. This means, of course, that for the most part, it will be used to refer to activity of a quite different nature from that of the simple and momentary movements considered above; and, indeed, it is usually to be found in reference to continuous or progressive activity of vague outlines which could not (or at least which did not) seize A's attention at the beginning. In the examples below is described a belated, a gradual or a fluctuating awareness of B in the midst of activity: in some cases, e.g., when this activity takes place in the background, it may be that A literally failed to see the activity until after it had been going on for some time:

On avait mis Corentine en vigile dans le sentier vert pour annoncer notre retour. Nous la voyions de loin qui sautait, qui sautait, qui faisait le diable toutte seule, avec sa grande coiffe et sa collerette au vent (Y 252)

C'est fête partout. Et je vois de loin Yves et Goulven, qui ne boivent pas, eux, mais qui font les cent pas en causant. Goulvent, le plus grand, a passé son bras sur les épaules de son frère, qui le tient, lui, autour de la taille (Y 324)

¹⁸ It may have been noted that in Th II, 133, we find B represented by the indirect object: “l'abbé *lui* vit esquisser un rapide signe de croix.” Here the *lui* may be interpreted as “chez lui” (cf. *je lui vis un sourire*), as designating the *locus* of an activity which is complete in itself: A notes a gesture on the part of B; the real object of *voir* is the Infinitive itself.

This is the only example of the ind. obj. + Inf. which I have found in my texts, when a visual impression is involved; it has been somewhat more frequent in factual statements of the type:

Mais je préfère de leur voir faire de longues randonnées dans la campagne (Th II, 46)

Il fut heureux de lui voir manifester une volonté quelconque (MB 300)

Je crains de lui voir perdre son courage (JC 45)

Here this interpretation of *lui* is even more fitting. For we have obviously to do with an emphasis (a *logical* emphasis) on the sight, not of B, but of activity on his part. In my opinion the presence of the ind. obj. after *voir* can be regularly explained as an indication of *emphasis upon activity*. Today it is rare; it began in OF before the use of the Infinitive had become so specialized that, in itself, it could insist on this same emphasis. (For a slightly different interpretation of *lui* vs. *le*, cf. Damourette-Pichon, *op. cit.*, III, 551.)

And in the following example, the activity is without beginning or end—eternal and ubiquitous:

En tous lieux, même au pied des autels que j'embrasse,
Je la vois qui m'appelle et m'ouvre ses bras blancs
(Heredia, *La Magicienne*)

But even when an act is presented as being initiated right underneath the eyes of A, still, with activity of tenuous or shifting outlines it is quite possible to "see" the beginning without realizing that one has done so: it may be only gradually or belatedly that A comes to realize the nature, the proportions of the activity which he has been witnessing:

Et il entra dans l'église, en faisant, dès la porte, une génuflexion. Emma le vit qui disparaissait entre la double ligne de bancs, marchant à pas lourds, la tête un peu penchée sur l'épaule et avec ses deux mains entr'ouvertes, qu'il portait en dehors (MB 159)

Ah! la voici! fit Mme Tuvache. Mais il n'était guère possible, à cause du tour, d'entendre ce qu'elle disait. . . . Elles la virent qui marchait de long en large, examinant contre les murs les ronds de serviette, les chandeliers, les pommes de rampes, tandis que Binet se caressait la barbe avec satisfaction (MB 422)

Le train entrain en gare. Daniel les quitta pour courir aux premiers wagons, qui passaient vides; et, de loin, ils le virent, penché à la portière, qui agitait avec gaminerie son mouchoir (Th III, ii, 50)

Deux femmes étaient arrivées. . . . Dans le demi-jour vert des vitraux et des arbres, nous les apercevions qui s'empresaient autour des vieux saints et des vieilles saintes, les époussetant, les essuyant (Y 383)

Le soir, à l'étude, il tira ses bouts de manches de son pupitre, mit en ordre ses petites affaires, régla soigneusement son papier. Nous la vîmes qui travaillait en conscience, cherchant tous les mots dans le dictionnaire et se donnant beaucoup de mal (MB 5)

One is not apt to note the exact moment when a person begins to "disappear" in the shadows, or even to begin walking up and down (unless he was previously immobile—and suddenly turns, or jumps to his feet); in the case of repetitive activity (*agiter son mouchoir*) any first impression is apt to be covered over by the succeeding impression of steady rhythmical movement (and then, too, this took place "au loin"). And as for *qui s'empresaient autour des vieux saints* or *qui travaillait en conscience*, these are activities the effect of which is necessarily cumulative.¹⁷

¹⁷ It could, of course, happen that a program of complex activity, such as working at one's studies or at cleaning up, might start off with a single clear-cut act that would attract the attention; in such a case the Infinitive would be used to refer to the achievement of the single act which initiated proceedings: *alors nous le vîmes prendre son livre* or *alors nous le vîmes brandir des époussettes*. But in the examples above, such expressions, with their suggestion of impact, would be most incongruous—against the background which the author has set up: in MB 5 there has been omitted any precise reference to time, and in Y 383 the whole scene has been cast in the

Finally, in the example below, the wife, who has been watching her husband perform the routine rites of dressing for his Night Flight, does not particularly note the initiation of the act *se peigner* (this would naturally blur with the preceding stages of his toilette). It is only in the midst of this activity that her attention is seized—because of the unusual care with which it is proceeding:

Elle le regardait. Elle réparait elle-même le dernier défaut dans l'armure: tout s'ajustait bien. —Tu es très beau. Elle l'aperçut qui se peignait soigneusement. —C'est pour les étoiles? —C'est pour ne pas me sentir vieux. —Je suis jalouse (VN 96-7)

Here it could be said that a mental perception is presented as a visual impression; the wife suddenly *realizes* how carefully her husband is combing his hair; her mind grasps the significance of what her eyes have been seeing. Thus we might have expected to find a substantival clause with *voir* (*apercevoir*) intellectualized: *elle vit que, s'aperçut que*. . . . Instead, Saint-Exupéry presents this sudden awareness, crystallizing after a stage of hazy, gradually developing consciousness, as if it were a purely physical impression.¹⁸ And what is especially interesting is the use of the form *aperçut*, which (unlike *vit*) is regularly reserved for the perception of a person hitherto unseen: once the wife realizes the significance of her husband's activity it is *as if* she were seeing him for the first time! She had thought she was seeing a man preparing for a routine job; now she suddenly sees a man making himself ready for his beloved.

So far, the activities described by the Relative Clause have been clearly distinct from the type with Infinitive: on the one hand (*se peigner* as truly as *travailler*), activity composed of stages that melt together, with no incisiveness of initiation, with no insistence on achievement; on the other hand, sudden, clear-cut movements. In such cases, where we have to do with two types of activity so disparate, each construction merely serves to enhance a quality that is already suggested by the nature of the activity itself: it is only natural that when we see such an act as *se pencher* our attention is momentarily seized by the manifestation of pure activity, whereas, in order to "see" *travailler en conscience*, our attention must dwell on B, the constant source of irradiating activity. But it occasionally happens that the construction reserved for the one type of activity

dreamy light of the "demi-jour." The author has preferred to isolate no single act, but to present a sequence of acts as representing one greater activity of shifting contours. And, for such an activity, only the Rel. Clause could be used: **nous le vîmes travailler*, **nous les vîmes s'empresse* would be impossible.

¹⁸ In this procedure, whereby a mental perception is described in terms of a visual perception, we have a recapitulation of the tendency which once led in Latin to the establishment of the type *non tu illum vides quaerere ansam*, "ne vois-tu pas qu'il cherche un prétexte?"

is applied to the other in order to replace the customary type of perception by a new vision.

Compare, for instance, the use of the Infinitive in the example below with *couvrir . . . de baisers*; this cumulative reference would normally be expressed by the Relative Clause:

Alissa soulève les pieds de sa soeur et les embrasse tendrement. Abel soutient la tête qui retomberait en arrière,—et je le vois, courbé, couvrir de baisers ces cheveux abandonnés qu'il rassemble (PE 109)

Here the Infinitive is chosen in order to accelerate and unify; to telescope the succession of rapid kisses into *one* sudden (startling) act. The incisive, pointed quality of the Infinitive suggests the impact made on the consciousness of the spectator by this eruption of activity.

Exactly the reverse effect is achieved in the example below, where the Relative Clause is used to describe momentary activity; it is obvious that the author wishes deliberately to blur the contours of a movement ordinarily seen as clear-cut:

Mais Charles ne dissimulait rien. Il l'appelait ma femme, la tutoyait, s'informait d'elle à chacun, la cherchait partout, et souvent il l'entraînait dans les cours, où on l'apercevait de loin, entre les arbres, *qui lui passait le bras sous la taille* et continuait à marcher à demi penché sur elle, en lui chiffonnant avec sa tête la guimpe de son corsage (MB 41)

With *on apercevait* Flaubert offers an impression limited to no specific moment (*souvent*); and in addition to this suggestion of temporal remoteness he insists on remoteness in space: he sets the scene "au loin, entre les arbres." From afar we can make out the figures of the lovers, but we are prevented from receiving the sharp impression of any one single movement; our impression is softly blunted, our reception of it delayed.

In the following example with the Relative Clause, there is described, on the contrary, an inordinately keen impression:

Une dame, près d'elle, laissa tomber son éventail. Un danseur passait. —Que vous seriez bon, monsieur, dit la dame, de vouloir bien ramasser mon éventail, qui est derrière ce canapé. Le monsieur s'inclina, et, pendant qu'il faisait le mouvement d'étendre son bras, Emma vit la main de la jeune dame *qui jetait dans son chapeau quelque chose de blanc, plié en triangle* (MB 72)

Here, I believe, the Relative Clause is used in order to represent a microscopic version of the original type "A catches sight of B in the midst of activity." And if it be objected that the lady in question was already within Emma's range of vision, one must note that, according to Flaubert, it was not the lady, but the lady's hand which threw the note. It is this hand which Emma suddenly sees as she bends her gaze to follow the downward movement of the gentleman as he stoops. The conventional way of reproducing this

situation would have been *Tout à coup Emma vit la dame jeter. . .*. But this would have implied that Emma's attention was suddenly caught by a movement on the part of the lady; and if the latter were as discreet as she should have been, she must have surely been careful to avoid attracting attention; hers must have been the least perceptible of gestures, and one which Emma would probably have failed to see, had not her gaze happened to fall upon the hand—just as it was releasing the note. By this slow-motion technique we are given a close-up of "B seen as the center of activity"; Flaubert has caught just that second at which we may perceive a hand from which a tiny bit of paper flutters.

In both these examples it could be said that the substitution of the Relative Clause has actually made for a greater accuracy in the reproduction of particular visual impressions. The passage below is more difficult to analyze on objective grounds:

—C'est vous, Goulven Kermadec? Et déjà je m'avançais en lui tendant la main, tant j'en étais sûr. Mais lui blanchit sous son hâle brun, et recula. Il avait peur. Et, par un mouvement sauvage, *je le vis qui rassemblait ses poings, raidissait ses muscles*, comme pour résister quand même, dans une lutte désespérée (Y 317-8)

We have said above that, with the Infinitive, we see activity as something in itself; something with a shape of its own which is capable of seizing our attention so forcefully that it is sensed, for one second, as an entity apart from the person (the nominal form serves to name *activity*). The Relative Clause, on the other hand (with its original emphasis on the shift *from person to activity*) presents activity as something emanating from the person, something which can be grasped only as a result of a consideration of the person. And it is perhaps just this nuance which was desired in the example above: the author would refer us back to the person, who is *expressing himself* in activity; we are given an insight into his psychic attitude, we can follow the reactions which prepare for this massive gesture (*lui blanchit . . . recula; il avait peur; . . . comme pour résister quand même*). And this gesture itself is on a different plane from those which we have found represented with the Infinitive: *A vit B tourner la tête; lever la tête, le menton; protester de la tête; ouvrir la bouche; faire un signe de croix, d'adieu*; here we have to do with easy normal gestures, gestures which have a "name" ("*haussement de tête*," etc.) and an identity of their own, "ready-made" gestures which may reproduce themselves, *ad infinitum*, now with this person, now with that. But *rassembler ses poings et raidir ses muscles* is no ready-made gesture but one which the person himself must create anew, must grapple with; and it is on the person who is producing this labored gesture that the author focuses. He gives us, not a sketch of a transient

movement, but a solid picture of the sailor himself, who appears as the embodiment of savage movement, as a figure of defiance incarnate. This example is not as "clever" as are the two above from Flaubert (illustrative of an expert camera-technique); rather, one feels here an appeal to a simple, an elemental view of human activity; an attitude which sees each act as an individual manifestation and has not yet learned the more sophisticated and abstract concept of a type of activity as a thing in itself. Surely this example is the closest to the language of the people—where the Relative Clause must prevail to a far larger degree than in the literary language.

So far, in our analysis of the contrast of Relative Clause and Infinitive, we have considered only *voir* and *apercevoir*—verbs which represent the subject as *receiving* a visual impression: we have seen that the two constructions have alternated for the purpose of distinguishing between two main types of perception: immediate awareness of sudden movement initiated on the part of B (*alors je le vis se pencher*), and belated or gradual awareness of enduring activity emanating from B (*nous l'apercevions qui sautait, qui sautait*).¹⁹ With the verb *regarder*, however, the subject is represented, not as sensitively receiving an impression, not as having his attention caught or penetrated by phenomena, but as actively directing his attention thereto. With this verb the observer dominates the situation, he controls his vision, as it were: he is subject neither to sharp impression nor to gradual recognition; rather he himself subjects all phenomena to a *steady* gaze, in which the nuances we have discerned are obliterated. Thus, with *regarder*, there is no need for alternation in the interests of focus and perspective; and there has been practically no development in con-

¹⁹ In this, as in all the other examples of the Rel. Clause above, the tense is the Imperfect. And indeed the use of the Preterite with this construction seems to be outlawed—at least when the Rel. Clause is directly subordinated to the verb of seeing: of course one may find "j'ai aperçu B, qui ne *parut* pas me voir." But when the Rel. Clause serves as a predicative, when, that is, it represents a stylistic contrast to the Infinitive, then the Imperfect is the regular tense.

Now, while there is nothing noteworthy in the choice of the Imperfect rather than the Preterite in reference to such an activity as *qui sautait, qui sautait*, it is indeed striking that the Preterite is forbidden—in reference to any type of activity whatsoever! Theoretically we might expect to find both tenses, properly applied: on the one hand a "*nous l'apercevions qui sautait, qui sautait*," on the other an "*alors nous la vîmes qui sauta de sa chaise*"; and this second type could represent a further extension of the use of the Rel. Clause—first introduced only to insist on "activity-in-progress." But the more firmly the Rel. Clause became established in this first reference, the less it became possible for it to be used in any other: the development of the Rel. Clause in this direction entailed a corresponding limitation of the Infinitive to the type *alors je le vis se pencher, alors je la vis sauter de sa chaise*. Thus, in the one reference for which the Preterite might have been suitable, the Infinitive alone is possible.

structional usage; the Relative Clause is only rarely to be found. And, as a result, the reference of the Infinitive has remained indiscriminate: there is no type of activity to which it may not refer: *je le regardais dormir* (continuous); *je le regardais déjeuner* (composite); *je le regardais entrer* (single act).

And yet, with all its wide range of reference, *regarder* + Infinitive has a quality just as distinctive in its way as is that of *voir* + Infinitive which is so narrowly limited in reference: its very facility of reducing all types of activity to one level—to the level of a steady gaze—gives it a specific emphasis: an emphasis on inevitability. Whereas *voir* + Infinitive represents a device for enhancing the striking or dramatic aspects of activity, serving as a signal that something *new* has happened, *regarder* + Infinitive presents activity as an expected development from what has just preceded.²⁰ Compare:

Déjà Daniel et Battaincourt, contournant la foule, revenaient vers lui. Daniel le regardait, et Jacques, l'oeil fixe, regardait venir Daniel, dont la lèvre supérieure, soulevée, découvrait les dents (Th III, i, 26)

En effet, Daniel s'était levé; très calme, et sans lâcher sa proie du regard, il traversa le salon et vint droit sur elle. . . . Rinette le regardait approcher, et son oeil fixe exprimait quelque chose de si anormal . . . (Th III, i, 91)

Marthe vient vers nous. . . . Annie la regarde s'approcher, une expression ambiguë sur sa petite figure d'esclave (RS 251)

Quand l'homme avait reçu l'aumône dans sa casquette, il . . . s'éloignait d'un pas lourd. Elle le regardait partir (MB 91)

—A demain, donc! dit Emma dans une dernière caresse. Et elle le regarda s'éloigner (MB 276)

Mme de Fontanin tira de son corsage le mot griffonné la veille par son fils et le remit à Antoine. Elle le regardait lire (Th I, 33)

Quand vous entriez dans une boutique, je restais dans la rue, je vous regardais par le carreau défaire vos gants et compter la monnaie sur le comptoir. Ensuite . . . (MB 325)

Ils restèrent seuls. Elle avait mis sur le plateau des tortillons de pâtisserie semés d'anis, qu'elle avait confectionnés la veille à son intention. Elle le regardait déjeuner avec déférence (Th II, 207)

²⁰ With *voir* we have thought in terms of the distinction achieved by construction: Inf. vs. Rel. Clause; now we must think of the distinction achieved by the verbs *voir* vs. *regarder*. And this distinction itself represents a historical development; in Old French *veoir* could be used with the force of MF *regarder*; and I was able in my texts to find only one example of (re)garder itself + predicative construction.

This is because in the earlier period the verb was closer to its original meaning; like *tueor*, *contempler* (which likewise did not invite a predicative construction) it was descriptive mainly of the vigilance, the purposeful watching to which A deliberately gives himself up: "A regarde B . . ." was meant to tell us "what A did," whereas "A voit B . . ." had long been used as a device to tell us about B himself. Even today *regarder* is less of a "mirroring" device than is *voir*: I have never found an anonymous *on regardait* . . . used, like *on voyait* . . . , simply to introduce a description of a phenomenon that is presented as "seen."

In the first examples the activity referred to by the Infinitive is merely a continuation or conclusion of an act previously begun. But even with *déjeuner*, which constitutes an act in itself, this "new" activity is one which takes its place as a natural, expected development, following smoothly on the heels of a preceding activity; with *regarder* there is regularly present the framework of a "general situation" in which one stage develops into another. Now with a composite activity such as *déjeuner* (which is, by its very nature, lacking in "impact," as we have said), any element of shock or surprise is eliminated. But even when we find, as we do on occasion, *regarder* used to introduce such verbs as *entrer*, *tomber* (which, with *voir*, always evoke a sharp, sudden awareness), the natural dramatic appeal is toned down; the sharp edge of the impression is blunted by some previous reference whereby the activity is made to seem inevitable. This is most obvious in such an example as:

Elle revint; elle s'était débarrassée de son manteau. Il la regarda entrer, refermer la porte, s'avancer, les prunelles cachées sous les cils d'or (Th III, ii, 220-1)

where the preceding *elle revint* succeeds in completely robbing *entrer* of any dramatic effect. Even in the following passage, the violent swoop of Frère Archangias has already been anticipated by his threat:

Et, tenez! cria Frère Archangias . . . voilà mes garnements qui manquent l'école. . . . Attendez, attendez, gredins! Et il partit en courant, son rabat sale volant sur l'épaule. . . . L'abbé Mouret le regarda tomber au milieu de la bande des enfants (AM 34)

We see him suddenly fall upon the urchins, but we *expect* to see him fall. With *regarder* climax is denied.²¹

This "absence of climax," however, should not be considered negatively, as representing a lack on the part of *regarder* + Infinitive; rather we have to do with a positive quality, often exploited to high artistic effect, in order to suggest the inexorability of the course of events, to give an impression of fatalism:²²

²¹ This is not to say that, with *voir* + Inf., the action must always come out of the blue sky; there is surely preparation, anticipation of a sort, with: *Un homme se jeta dans la mêlée; on le vit trébucher*. But here the preparation serves simply to show us where to look; it does not dull the effect of the events which follow, but leads up to them so that they appear as climactic.

²² This may take the form of light irony, as in the *je la regardai rougir* below:

— Quel bon père de famille tu ferais! dit Juliette en essayant de rire. Qu'attendes-tu pour te marier? — D'avoir oublié bien des choses: — et je la regardai rougir (PE 234)

By the use of *regarder* instead of *voir*, it is slyly suggested that the blush was inevitable: that the speaker knew that Juliette had reasons for blushing at his remark.

Sur ce géant, grandeur jusqu'alors épargnée,
 Le malheur, bûcheron sinistre, était monté;
 Et lui, chêne vivant, par la hache insulté,
 Tressaillant sous le spectre aux lugubres revanches,
 Il regardait tomber autour de lui ses branches.
 Chefs, soldats, tous mouraient. Chacun avait son tour
 (V. Hugo, *Les Châtiments*, I)

Ils allaient, l'arme au bras, front haut, graves stoïques.
 Pas un ne recula. Dormez, morts héroïques!
 Le reste de l'armée hésitait sur leurs corps
 Et regardait mourir la garde (*Les Châtiments*, II)
 Et sur ces débris joignant leurs mains d'argile,
 Etourdis des éclairs d'un instant de plaisir,
 Ils croyaient échapper à cet Etre immobile
 Qui regarde mourir! (De Musset, *Souvenir*)

As for the occasional use of the Relative Clause after *regarder*, I have found three examples in which it seems to have been chosen simply to give a special emphasis on the sight of B himself. Mauriac introduces this construction with the stock type *B entra*; *A le regarda approcher*:

Mathilde . . . aidait le malade à monter dans le tramway de la Croix-Blanche, et . . . l'accompagnait jusqu'à une rue, derrière le lycée. . . Immobile au bord du trottoir, elle regardait son père qui, *les genoux fléchissants*, s'éloignait vers la classe (G 37)

La vieille hésite, s'éloigne, se ravise, tourne le loquet.—Qui est là?—C'est moi, ma fille. La vieilleuse n'éclaire plus la chambre mais, à travers les persiennes, une pureté glacée. Mathilde regarde *son cauchemar* qui avance (G 80)

Here the italicized phrases indicate a special concentration on the appearance of B. And in the example from Martin du Gard:

—"Favery, mon cher," déclara-t-il . . . , "permettez que je vous dise une chose: vous venez de parler des femmes comme quelqu'un qui n'a jamais su . . . leur parler!" Daniel regarda Favery qui riait, et il crut saisir un regard du normalien dans la direction de Rinette (Th III, i, 79)

(which may be compared to the *regardai rougir* above: the laughter, like the blush, is taken for granted as a typical reaction), it is obvious that Daniel is fixing his attention on Favery (*Favery-qui-rit*): he is interested, not in the laughter, but in the look in Favery's eye.²⁸

And there is one situation in which the Relative Clause seems to be required (at least, in prose): i.e., if the stage has not already been set, and it is necessary to introduce us to B for the first time. A chapter in MB opens:

²⁸ The use of the Rel. Clause with *regarder* for the purpose of insisting upon a special emphasis on B himself seems to me to be new; it may be noted that the three examples are from contemporary writers.

Un soir que la fenêtre était ouverte, et que, assise au bord, elle venait de regarder Lestiboulois, le bedeau, qui taillait le buis, elle entendit tout à coup sonner l'Angélus (MB 53)

But it very rarely happens with *regarder* that any such announcement of the presence of B is called for: in most cases, as we have said, the framework of a general situation has been set up, and within this framework both the presence and the activity of B may be taken for granted. There is usually apt to be a reference to B in the preceding context, but this is not really necessary so long as he forms an essential element of the general situation: *du fond de l'église il regarda le prêtre monter à l'autel*. Once given the background of a church, a priest and his priestly behavior are accepted as *belonging to the picture*.

But this implication of *regarder* + Infinitive, that the presence and the activity of B represent an integral part of a fixed scene, may, on occasion, be resorted to when no background has been established—may be resorted to precisely in order to evoke a background (and the atmosphere of fatalism). Compare the following passages from Heredia:

Au choc clair et vibrant des cymbales d'airain,
Nue, allongée au dos d'un grand tigre, la Reine
Regarde, avec l'Orgie immense qu'il entraîne,
Iacchos s'avancer sur le sable marin (*Ariane*)
D'un oeil morne, comptant leurs compagnons défunts,
Les soldats regardaient, comme des feuilles mortes,
Au loin, tourbillonner les archers de Phraortes
(*Soir de Bataille*)

Cet autre. . . C'est l'aventurier grec Pedro de Candia,
Lequel ayant brûlé dix villes, dédia,
Pour expier ces feux, dix lampes à la Vierge.
Il regarde, au sommet dangereux de la berge,
Caracoler l'ardent Gonzalo Pizarro
(*Les Conq. de l'or*, V)

In each we have to do with a short poem that is a congealed picture—in which is concentrated the essence of a civilization, in which is reproduced a moment of history, mythology. To this moment the figure which we see belongs eternally, and his activity, though presented without benefit of preliminaries, is yet as inevitable as history.

(*To be continued*)



GEORGE VERTUE'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHAUCERIAN ICONOGRAPHY

By GEORGE L. LAM AND WARREN H. SMITH

George Vertue's antiquarian collections,¹ like those of Thomas Hearne,² contain scattered references to portraits of Chaucer. The jottings of these eighteenth-century antiquaries would be of little interest today if the Chaucer portraits which they saw were all available now. This is not the case. Both men describe an early Chaucer portrait which was destroyed during their own time, and Vertue probably used that portrait in preparing his four engravings of Chaucer.

Hearne and Vertue were both concerned in the preparation of Urry's *Chaucer*, which was published posthumously in 1721.³ Hearne was interested in it as Urry's friend; consequently his Chaucer references, confined mostly to MSS and editions, cease within a few years after Urry's death in 1715. Vertue, on the other hand, engraved the Chaucer portrait (1717) prefixed to the poet's life in Urry's *Chaucer*, and, for many years afterwards, his notes occasionally mention Chaucer portraits. These voluminous notes were heretofore available only through Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, because the original Vertue MSS in the British Museum remained unpublished. The publication of his most important notebooks by the Walpole Society, however, has made many of Vertue's materials readily accessible.⁴ There may be still more references to Chaucer portraits among the notebooks which are yet unpublished, but the available references amply justify a reexamination of the subject.

¹ *Vertue Note-Books*, 5 vols., Walpole Society, vols. XVIII, XX, XXII, XXIV, XXVI (Oxford, 1930-38). In this paper, the references to the *Vertue Note-Books* will be according to the volume and page numbers of the Walpole Society publications.

² *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, 1705-35, 11 vols., Oxford Historical Society, vols. II, VII, XIII, XXXIV, XLII, XLIII, XLVIII, L, LXV, LXVII, LXXII (Oxford, 1884-1921). Hearne's *Remarks* will be cited as Hearne, *op. cit.*, followed by the volume number of the *Remarks* rather than that of the Oxford Historical Society publication.

³ See n. 61.

⁴ See Sir Lionel Cust and A. M. Hind, "George Vertue's Note-Books and Manuscripts Relating to the History of Art in England," *Walpole Society*, III, 123-39; H. M. Hake, "The Note-Books of George Vertue Relating to Artists and Collections in England," *ibid.*, XVIII, ix-xiv. Beginning in 1930, the Walpole Society biennially published select volumes of Vertue's notebooks from the originals in the British Museum, carefully preserving Vertue's punctuation and spelling, and marginal notes. The fifth volume was published in 1938, and an index is forthcoming. All quotations from Vertue's notebooks in this paper have been normalized.

The Chaucer Society published in 1900 M. H. Spielmann's *Portraits of Chaucer*, in which most of the existing paintings are reproduced and discussed. Spielmann, however, does not reckon with the possibility that the early engravings of Chaucer (particularly Speed's and Vertue's) might be based on early paintings no longer in existence. Vertue did four engravings of Chaucer (including the one in Urry's *Chaucer*), and therefore his acquaintance with a lost Chaucer portrait makes him important not only as an antiquary, but also as an artist. Vertue's notes were not available in printed form to Spielmann, to Miss Spurgeon, or to Miss Hammond.⁸

For forty-four years⁹ Vertue had been collecting materials on English art with the hope of writing a "Musæum pictoris Anglicanum" or a "History of the Art of Painting and Sculpture in England from 1500 to 1700 or thereabouts." This project, according to Vertue's autobiography, "may be a large foundation designed for a more complete work hereafter, when, as it is to be hoped that true public encouragement here will bring forth native professors of art in as high perfection as any nation or part of the universe."¹⁰ Vertue died in 1756 leaving nothing but a few completed biographical sketches⁹ and a great mass of undigested materials. The arrangement and presentation of these materials was undertaken by Horace Walpole.¹⁰

The use of Vertue's materials presents certain difficulties. Although the notebooks usually have some semblance of chronological order, they are largely composed of transfers from other notebooks, so that Vertue's entries cannot even be assigned to the years outlined by the earliest and the latest entries in each notebook. Vertue makes frequent interlinear and marginal corrections; he often omits dates. His earliest entries about Chaucerian iconography probably repeat

⁸ C. F. E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion* (Cambridge, 1925), see index under Chaucer: Portraits; *English Verse Between Chaucer and Surrey*, ed. Eleanor P. Hammond (Durham, N. C., 1927), pp. 74, 408. Miss Hammond lists all the known MSS of Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*, and briefly comments on Chaucer miniatures contained in some.

⁹ The first entry is dated October 10, 1712 (*Walpole Society*, XVIII, xxv).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 6.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹² In notebook A.c. (see *ibid.*, XX, 96-149)

¹³ In the summer of 1758 Walpole had bought from Vertue's widow for £100 "forty volumes" of Vertue's "MS collection relating to English painters, sculptors, gravers, and architects" (Walpole to Zouch, January 12, 1759, see *Letters*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee [Oxford, 1903-05], IV, 228). The first two volumes of the *Anecdotes of Painting* were published by Walpole's private press at Strawberry Hill on February 15, 1762 (see *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis [New Haven, 1937-], I, 1; for volumes III and IV see *ibid.*, I, 53, 127). Walpole considered himself "rather an editor than an author" (see the dedication to Lady Hervey in the *Anecdotes*), and he acknowledges his indebtedness to Vertue in his handsome title and preface.

some of the observations which he made before 1717, when he must have investigated the subject in order to find the best original for his engraving in Urry's *Chaucer*.

In the course of his tours through England, Vertue noted the Chaucer miniatures in the Cottonian Library and the Earl of Oxford's collection (later the Harleian collection of MSS in the British Museum),¹¹ a portrait at Knole,¹² a miniature at the Royal Library,¹³ a portrait bought by Lord Chesterfield at Lord Halifax's sale,¹⁴ another at the Bodleian,¹⁵ and still another at Longleat.¹⁶ In 1733 he advised Dassier about engraving a series of medals of English worthies, including Chaucer.¹⁷ In addition to these references, he apparently made one to a Chaucer portrait at St. John's College, Oxford, which misled Walpole into thinking that the portrait was at St. John's College, Cambridge.¹⁸ The Chaucer portrait now in the National Portrait Gallery was certainly known to Vertue, since it is engraved in Birch's *Heads* to which he contributed.

Three of these Chaucer portraits known to Vertue are early miniatures (those in MSS Harl. 4866, Royal 17 D VI, and Cotton Otho A XVIII. 28). The third of these, Vertue thinks, is the source of Speed's engraving of Chaucer, of the portrait on Chaucer's monument at Westminster Abbey, and (apparently) of various "copies in oils."¹⁹ It is therefore necessary to discuss all of them before examining Vertue's own engravings of Chaucer. The first part of this article will treat: (a) the three miniature portraits of Chaucer which Vertue certainly knew,²⁰ (b) Speed's engraving,

¹¹ *Walpole Society*, XX, 47-48.

¹² *Ibid.*, XX, 51.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 60.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIV, 165; XXVI, 70.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 42.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 106.

¹⁸ *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley (Oxford, 1935), II, 696.

¹⁹ *Walpole Society*, XX, 47-48.

²⁰ Hearne mentions (February 19, 1710) "the picture of Geoffrey Chaucer in a MS of his Tales in Bibl. Bod. super Art. 32" (Hearne, *op. cit.*, II, 347). The illuminations noted by John M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), volume I, among the five possible MSS of the *Canterbury Tales* at the Bodleian, do not fit Hearne's description, nor can we find any other reference to this portrait. Hearne also mentions, June 26, 1716, a manuscript of Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*, with Hoccleve's picture of Chaucer, in the possession of John Murray of London; the picture was on f. 71, evidently opposite stanza 714 (for which see below) (Hearne, *op. cit.*, V, 241, 382). Murray (who, according to John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes* [London, 1812], V, 458, was probably John Murray of Sacomb, antiquary and book collector) acquired a second Hoccleve MS, which Hearne notices March 18, 1722 (*op. cit.*, VII, 339) without mentioning any Chaucer portrait.

Murray's miniature of Chaucer, described by Hearne as being on f. 71, is apparently not the one on f. 70 of the Phillips MS 1099 (Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*) which in 1810 belonged to G. Nicol and is now owned by Dr. Rosenbach (see Henry J. Todd, *Illustrations of the Lives and*

(c) the portrait on Chaucer's monument, and (d) the various oil paintings which Vertue knew or might have known. The second part will deal with Vertue's four engravings of Chaucer.

Of the miniatures which Vertue knew, the two extant ones are both in early MSS of Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*. The one in the Harleian collection (MS Harl. 4866, f. 88a)²¹ is a half-length to the left; rosary in left hand, pointing with right; "grass-green background, black hood and gown, gray hair, hazel eyes, red lips, paleish face and hands; black beads and penner on red strings."²² The miniature is centered upon stanza 714 of *De Regimine Principum*, the index finger of the right hand pointing at the word "lyknesse," viz.:

Al bogh his lyfe be queynt þe resemblauce
Of him haþ in me so fressh lyflynesse
Pat to putte othre men in remembraunce
Of his psone I haue beere his lyknesse
Do make to þis ende in sothfastnesse
Pat þei þt haue of him lest þought & mynde
By þis peynture may ageyn him fynde.²³

Writings of Gower and Chaucer [London, 1810], p. xxxi; A. S. W. Rosenbach, *Books and Bidders* [Boston, 1927], p. 252). The Philipps miniature exactly resembles that in the Harleian MS (see below). It is probably not the one which the Rev. I. Tyson describes and crudely depicts in *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXII (1792), pt. II, 612, 615.

Manly, in the introduction to the *Canterbury Tales* (New York, 1928), pp. 38-9, calls attention to a miniature portrait in MS No. 61, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and to one in the Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 223. He reproduces the latter as his frontispiece, but discredits its authenticity. It shows a young man in a black cap, while the Corpus Christi miniature depicts a man reading to an audience of noblemen.

Vertue does not mention any of these miniatures in his published notebooks. He likewise ignores two miniatures which are treated by Spielmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 15-17: the Lansdowne and Ellesmere portraits. Miss Margaret Rickert (Manly and Rickert, *op. cit.*, I, 587-90) considers the latter to be the earliest Chaucer portrait, derived with the Harleian miniature from a common prototype.

Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), I, 167, says: "Thomas Oecleve in *Consolatione sua servili meminit imaginis magistri sui Chauceri depicti in margine libri MS. bibl. reg. Westmon. 17 D VI i, ubi effigies similis est Chauceri picturæ in bibl. Bodl.*" Since no Hoccleve poem with such a title survives, it is reasonable to assume that Tanner means Hoccleve's stanzas about Chaucer in *De Regimine Principum*, especially stanza 714 in which Hoccleve speaks of having Chaucer's portrait painted in the margin. This miniature in the Royal Library will be discussed later.

²¹ In the British Museum. See *Hoccleve's Works: The Regement of Princes*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., extra ser., LXXI (London, 1897), 180. Both the *Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts* (London, 1759), volume II (under No. 4866), and Spielmann, *op. cit.*, p. 7, give f. 91. Spurgeon gives the page as the "back of 87." The reference to f. 88a is based on Furnivall's marginal foliation of the MS in his edition of *The Regement of Princes*.

²² Furnivall, *loc. cit.*

²³ Transcribed from Spielmann's photographic facsimile of MS Harl. 4866, f. 88a (f. 91 in Spielmann). See also frontispiece to volume I of Chaucer's *Complete Works*, ed. W. W. Skeat (Oxford, 1894), and the frontispiece to Spurgeon.

The second miniature is in the left margin of MS Royal 17 D VI, f. 93b (*De Regimine Principum*) in the British Museum;²⁴ full length to the right, the left hand pointing, the right holding a string of beads. The Royal miniature is much more crude than the Harleian one, and it is crowded into the margin. The picture, if measured against the lines of the MS, extends from the second line of stanza 714 to the sixth of 716. The index finger of the left hand is in line with the word "peynture." The MSS are not dated, but Furnivall considers the incomplete MS Harl. 4866 "better" than the "second-rate complete" MS Royal 17 D VI.²⁵ Kern and Schulz do not discuss either of them.²⁶

In support of the traditional preference for the Harleian miniature, the margins of the two MSS indicate this to be the more authentic portrait. If Hoccleve wrote stanza 714 with Chaucer's portrait in mind, it is reasonable to assume that he would leave ample space for the marginal miniature, or would instruct his copyist to do so. The Harleian miniature occupies an ample margin, the Royal miniature an insufficient one; consequently the latter miniature appears to be a crude afterthought. This difference may be significant. The spellings in stanza 714 in the Royal, Harleian, and Phillipps MSS all differ slightly. Vertue's 1737 engraving of Chaucer repeats this stanza with spellings different from those of the other three, implying that he used an unidentified Hoccleve MS. If this unknown MS contained a Chaucer portrait, that portrait may have influenced Vertue's engravings, but no such portrait is mentioned in Vertue's notes. The Cottonian portrait was apparently not accompanied by verses. The third miniature which Vertue knew is this lost Cottonian portrait. He describes it thus:²⁷

In the Cotton Library—

a picture of Chaucer (1400) depicted in an ancient vellum manuscript

²⁴ See *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, ed. Sir George F. Warner and J. P. Gilson (London, 1921), II, 251; IV, plate 101. Another facsimile will be found in Spielmann, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²⁵ *Hoccleve's Works: Minor Poems*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., extra ser., LXI (1892), p. xxxix.

²⁶ J. H. Kern, "Een en ander over Thomas Hoccleve en zijn werken," *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde* 5e reeks 1e deel (Amsterdam, 1915), pp. 336-90. Kern, however, establishes March-June, 1411, as the date of composition of *De Regimine Principum* (p. 357). H. C. Schulz, "Thomas Hoccleve, Scribe," *Speculum*, XII (1937), 71-81, is principally concerned with the MSS of Hoccleve's minor poems in the Huntington Library.

²⁷ In his folio notebook A.g. (BM Add MS 23,070). The quotation is taken from the printed text in *Walpole Society*, XX, 47-48. The spellings and punctuation have been normalized, but not the grammar, proper names, or abbreviations of proper names.

book of several ancient things written. This picture is done on a leaf of vellum pasted at the end of that book, no ways relating to it.²⁸

This picture is at whole length, about six or seven inches in height, with his right hand holding the penknife, and his left the beads.

In a marginal note Vertue adds,²⁹

from which the figure on his monument was (I suppose) done, and also in Speghts edition of Chaucers works 160. . . .³⁰

Vertue proceeds:

The face or countenance in the same manner as the other in the Regimine principis, presented to P. Henry of Wales, afterwards K. Hen. 5.

The most difference is in the nose of the Coton Lib. Is fuller, rounder at the end, inclining to a blunt roundness.

It is very probable that this picture of Chaucer was done immediately after his death, being dated 1400 in this manner, the very year (at least) that he died < but by his poem it appears he was living 1402. >

About which time < or soon after, allowing reasonable time for to compose, write, and finish > Occleve dedicated his book to this prince < after he was P. of Wales > and puts the picture of Chaucer in the margin pointing to the verses relating to him. This picture of Chaucer being about half the body,³¹ and much smaller in proportion than the other. Which is the original, or if there was any other, is hard to determine. At least I have found it so after several years inquiry.

²⁸ MS Otho A XVIII of the old Cottonian Library. It was destroyed in the fire of 1731 (see below), but from T. Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Oxford, 1696), p. 69, it appears that the MS contained twenty-eight miscellaneous items, beginning with an old description of *Vita SS patrum ab Hyeronimo . . . scripta*, etc.

²⁹ The marginal notes are printed in angular brackets in the text of the *Vertue Note-Books*, edited by the Walpole Society. We have deleted the angular brackets, and put the sentence in a paragraph by itself, for the sake of emphasis. In the remainder of our quotation, however, we shall revert to the angular brackets.

³⁰ The figure 160 perhaps stands for the date of the 1602 edition of Speght's *Chaucer*, the exact date of which may have escaped Vertue's memory.

³¹ The Harleian miniature is the only half-length of the three miniatures which Vertue knew. Some years later he made a note of the Royal miniature on the authority of David Casley's *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library* (London, 1734), p. 269, viz., under "17 D 4." Casley says: "VI. i. Thomas Occleve's Heroic Poem of the Government of a Prince: wherein is a Picture of G. Chaucer." Vertue's entry is: "MS Royal Libra. p. 269. Occleve de regimine principis. Chaucer's picture < I coppeyd exactly > Occleve presenting the book to P. Henry" (*Walpole Society*, XXIV, 60). From the ambiguous position of the marginal note as printed in angular brackets in the Walpole Society text, it is difficult to tell whether Vertue refers to his copy of Chaucer's portrait or to Hoccleve's presenting the book. Vertue had "made an exact copy" of a "limning of Occleve, kneeling and presenting the book to Henry Prince of Wales" (*Walpole Society*, XXIV, 14) from MS Arundel 38 (then in the Library of the Royal Society, but since 1831 in the British Museum; see *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum* [London, 1834], I, i-ii). Therefore "I coppeyd exactly" may merely mean that his previous copy of the presentation portrait agreed with this miniature (which is on f. 40 of MS Royal 17 D VI; see *Catalogue of Western MSS*, cited in n. 24, *loc. cit.*). Vertue must have consulted the Royal MS, because Casley does not mention the miniature of Hoccleve presenting his book. The stanzas containing Chaucer's portrait have been cut out of the Arundel MS (see Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 74).

Chaucers picture in the Cotton Lib. His hair is of a yellowish cast and beard also. In the other it appears whiter. Hair and beard perhaps by chance or the unskilfulness of the illuminators at that time, in that of the Regimine. (If any difference) it has more strength of colour and better.³²

< All the copies in oil colours, some on board, pretty ancient, have his hand holding the knife. >

Besides Vertue's description of the lost Cottonian miniature, there is one by Urry, transcribed by Hearne, April 28, 1711, from Urry's notebook:

For Chaucer's personage, it appears by an excellent piece of him, limned by the life by Thomas Occlve, his scholar, and now remaining as a high prized jewel in the hands of my honoured friend, Sir Thomas Cotton, Kt, and Bart, that Chaucer was a man of an even stature, neither too high nor too low; his complexion sanguine; his face fleshy but pale; his forehead broad but comely, smooth, and even. His eyes rather little than great, cast most part downward, with a grave aspect; his lips plump and ruddy, and both of an equal thickness; the hair on the upper being thin and short, of a wheat colour; on his chin two thin forked tufts. His cheeks of like colour with the rest of his face, being shaved or wanting hair.³³

The Chaucer portrait here described is MS Otho A XVIII. 28 of the old Cottonian Library.³⁴ It was destroyed, with other MSS, in the fire of October 23, 1731, at Ashburnham House, Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, where the Cottonian and the Royal Libraries were housed between 1729 and 1731.³⁵ The significance of the Cottonian miniature is that it is apparently the earliest authority for the position of the right hand, which, instead of pointing (as in all the other early miniatures), is holding the penner (or as Vertue says "penknife"), a position which appears in most of the later Chaucer portraits including Vertue's engravings.³⁶

Vertue's and Urry's descriptions of the Cottonian miniature are so readily applicable to a late sixteenth-century portrait, dated 1402,

³² The punctuation of this passage is made on the assumption that Vertue is comparing the Cottonian miniature with the Harleian, that he shifts from one to the other. Several other interpretations are possible; we shall therefore transcribe the passage as it is printed in *Walpole Society*, XX, 48: "Chaucers picture in the Cotton Lib. his hair is of, a Yellowisch cast & beard also. in the other it appears whiter. hair & beard perhaps by chance. or the unskilfulness of the inluminators at that time. in that of the Regimine. (if any difference) it has more strenght of colour & better."

³³ Hearne, *op. cit.*, III, 155.

³⁴ T. Smith, *loc. cit.* (see n. 28). Thomas Warton, *History of English Poetry* (London, 1774-81), II, 43-44, gives the same number (without the 28), and speaks as if the MS were still in existence. Beyond a casual allusion by Spielmann, *op. cit.*, p. 12, we find no modern treatment of this miniature.

³⁵ See *Gent. Mag.*, I (1731), 451; *Catalogue of Western MSS* (cited in n. 24), introd. to vol. I; see also Casley's *Catalogue* (n. 31) which contains an "Appendix . . . together with an Account of Books burnt or damaged by a late Fire," p. 315.

³⁶ See Spielmann, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

in the British Museum (Add MS 5141)⁸⁷ as to suggest this late portrait to be a copy of the lost Cottonian one. Vertue calls attention to the differences between the shapes of the nose and the beard in the Cottonian and Harleian miniatures respectively. The blunt round nose, which he considers characteristic of the Cottonian miniature, is, to be sure, in the Royal miniature too, and both miniatures are whole-lengths, but there the similarity ends. The Cottonian is a whole-length to the left, the Royal a whole-length to the right. There is also the significant variant of the position of the right hand. The descriptions of the Cottonian miniature give no proof of its date, but Vertue considers it the original for Speed's engraving and for the painting on Chaucer's monument (both done in the sixteenth century), and implies that it is equal in value (and, presumably, in date) with the Harleian miniature.

Furthermore, there are two early vellum MSS of Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum* from which the Cottonian miniature might have been cut. MS Harl. 4826 has been mutilated on the right-hand margin of f. 139 by the removal of a full-length portrait of Chaucer. A doggerel poem of *circa* 1540 is scribbled at the bottom of the page to complain of this vandalism:

Off worthy Chaucer
here the pickture stood
That much did wryght
And all to doe vs good

Summe ffurious ffoole
Have Cutt the same in twayne
His deed doe shewe
He have a barren Brayne.⁸⁸

A few traces of the painting remain opposite stanza 714, but the bottom of the painting is just below the third line of stanza 715 (which is the bottom line of the page), so that there would hardly be room for a whole-length figure pointing at "lyknesse." The figure must have been much higher than stanza 714, judging by the coarse scale of the surviving fragment (probably a base on which the figure stands, as in the BM Add MS 5141 portrait). The Cottonian miniature of Chaucer (which Vertue says was a vellum leaf pasted into MS Cotton Otho A XVIII) might have been cut out of MS Harl. 4826, but this cannot be decided without actually measuring the mutilated page; Spurgeon's reproduction is insufficient, and the original MS is not at present available. The Cottonian minia-

⁸⁷ *Index to the Additional Manuscripts . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1849), p. 100. For illustrations see frontispiece to vol. III of Spurgeon, *op. cit.*, and Spielmann, *op. cit.*, p. 10; see also the colored lithograph in Henry Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, 2d ed. (London, 1858), vol. I, no. 38.

⁸⁸ Spurgeon, *op. cit.*, I, 82-83.

ture may similarly have been cut out of MS Arundel 38 (see n. 31 above). The destruction of this miniature makes the matter very problematical, but at least there are two early MSS from which it may have come.

The Cottonian miniature and its discussion by Vertue conclude our study of the three Chaucer miniatures which Vertue certainly knew. The next problem is Speed's engraving of Chaucer, supposed by Vertue to be based on the lost Cottonian miniature. Thomas Gray, in his letter to Walpole of September 2, 1760,³⁹ makes inquiries about this engraving. After denying that a Chaucer portrait exists at St. John's College, Cambridge, Gray goes on to say:

In the University Library . . . there is a large volume with most of his [Chaucer's] works on vellum,⁴⁰ and by way of frontispiece is (pasted in) a pretty old print taken (as it says) by Mr Speed from Occleve's original painting in the book *De Regimine Principum*. In the middle is Chaucer, a whole length; the same countenance, attitude, and dress that Vertue gives you in the two heads which he has engraved of him. The border is composed of escutcheons of arms, all the alliances of the Chaucer family, and at bottom the tomb of Thomas Chaucer and Maud Burghersh at Ewelme. The print and all the arms are neatly coloured. I only describe this because I never took notice of such a print anywhere else, though perhaps you may know it, for I suppose it was done for some of Speed's works.

The "pretty old print" by Speed, which Gray mentions, is the line engraving (10½ by 7 in.), entitled "The Progenie of Geoffrey Chaucer," prefixed to Speght's edition of *The Workes of our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer* (London, 1598). Gray's description of the print is accurate, but the coloring and gilding of the arms are unique in the Cambridge MS, since the original (1598) print is uncolored. The MS⁴¹ "has, at some time, been rebound, and the portrait of Chaucer now comes after the text of the poems; it was originally at the beginning of the volume. Prefixed to the portrait is the following statement: 'Thomas Occleve of the Office of the pryve Seale sometime Chaucer's Scoller for the love that he bare to his Master caused his picture to be truly drawen in his booke *De Regimine Principum* dedicated to King Henry the fift according to the which the following was made by John Spede'.⁴² This statement is not part of the original print. Speed, whose monogram is in the right-hand corner of the print, does not say that his source is Hoccleve's miniature in *De Regimine Prin-*

³⁹ *Gray's Corr.*, II, 696-703. The volumes containing Walpole's correspondence with Gray in *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis, are in preparation.

⁴⁰ MS Camb. Univ. Gg iv. 27. Early 15th century. See E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer: a Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908), pp. 189-91.

⁴¹ A small folio (12¾ by 7¾ in.), Hammond, *loc. cit.*

⁴² *Gray's Corr.*, II, 696, n. 3. The portrait is not described in the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts . . . in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1856-67), III, 172-74, but see Manly and Rickert, *op. cit.*, I, 178.

cupum; he merely says (under the figure of Chaucer), "The true portraiture of Geffrey Chaucer the famous English poet, as by THOMAS OCCLEUE is described who lived in his time, and was his Scholar."

Further passages in Gray's letter show that in Casley's *Catalogue* he read of a Chaucer portrait in the Royal MS of Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*; obviously Gray must have assumed that this portrait was Speed's original. Thomas Warton, who knew about the Royal, Harleian, and Cottonian miniatures,⁴³ likewise assumes that Speed based his engraving on the Royal miniature. Speed's figure, however, is to the left, and the right hand is not pointing but is folded over the breast, holding a penner—a fact already noted by Vertue, as we have seen. Warton obviously had not seen the Cottonian miniature; he assumes that it is still in existence, although it was destroyed when he was three years old. Speed's engraving certainly belongs to the same type as the Cottonian miniature, but it is impossible to say whether Speed copied that miniature itself, or some earlier portrait of which the Cottonian was itself a copy, or some descendant, direct or collateral, of the Cottonian.

Vertue's notes suggest that the painting of Chaucer on the monument in Westminster Abbey was likewise based on the lost Cottonian miniature. The painting on the monument, however, was almost certainly defaced before Vertue's time. This monument, which now bears the date 1556, was built by Nicholas Brigham,⁴⁴ and the painting must have been done from an earlier Chaucer portrait. Weever (who, writing in 1631, must have seen it in fairly good preservation) says that it is a copy of Hoccleve's painting in *De Regimine Principum*. Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* is illustrated by Vaughan's engraving of the tomb (on p. 226). The figure of Chaucer on the left-hand side of the inscription, facing right, points with the left hand to the inscription and in the right hand

⁴³ Warton, *loc. cit.* (see n. 33).

⁴⁴ The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London* (London, 1904-30), I, 51, gives the date 1556. No authority is cited. Arthur P. Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1924), p. 251, and Sir Walter Besant, *London North of the Thames* (London, 1911), p. 233, both give 1551, with no authority.

William Camden, *Reges, Reginae, nobiles et alij in Ecclesia . . . Westmonasterij* (London, 1606), p. 66; John Pits, *De Rebus Anglicis* (Paris, 1619), p. 575; and John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 489, all give 1555, but not as part of the inscription.

Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652), p. 226, depicts 1556 at the base of the inscription, and so does the title-page vignette of Urry's *Chaucer* and John Dart, *Westmonasterium* (London, 1723, 1742), I, 86, although Dart in his text says that the tomb was built about 1555; Jodocus Crull, in the illustration to his *Antiquities of St. Peter's . . . Westminster*, 3d ed. (London, 1722), II, 32, depicts 1555 at the end of the epitaph.

Spurgeon, *op. cit.*, I, 94, gives 1556 as part of the inscription, and also gives a photograph of the monument in which 1556 is dimly visible. It is possible that this date is a restoration, or a later addition to the monument.

clasps a book. The space to the right of the inscription is blank. Ashmole in a note (*op. cit.*, p. 472) says that "the *Picture of Chaucer* is now somewhat decay'd, but the *Graver* has recovered it after a *Principall* left to *posterity* by his worthy Schollar, *Tho. Occleve*, who hath also these verses upon it." Then follow the verses from *De Regimine Principum*.

Crull (*loc. cit.*) reproduces the monument in an engraving similar to Vaughan's, but the figure is much more obscure. The figure appears at the left of the inscription as before, the right-hand space being left blank as in Vaughan's engraving.

The title-page vignette of Urry's *Chaucer* follows Vaughan's engraving except for Chaucer's face, which is more distinct, resembling slightly the face in Vertue's second engraving of Chaucer (see below). The title-page vignette, however, may have been done by Pigné (who engraved the frontispiece portrait of Urry) rather than by Vertue who did the Chaucer portrait for the same volume.

Dart's *Westmonasterium* (*loc. cit.*) says that the painting "now quite defaced" was "exactly like the painting of *Ockleve*, printed before the old edition, and was remaining in Mr *Ashmole's* time, who in one of his treatises, has given us the monument." The accompanying illustration (engraved by J. Cole) shows not only Chaucer's figure at the left, but also a figure in Elizabethan costume at the right—presumably Brigham who erected the monument. Since the painting was evidently obliterated by Dart's time, the details of the engraving must have come from imagination or from the earlier engravings in Ashmole's and Crull's books. Walpole says⁴⁵ that "the painted effigies of Chaucer remained till within these few years on his tomb at Westminster."

Speed's engraving and the figure on the monument are both supposed by Vertue to be based on the Cottonian miniature. The figure on the monument, however, was apparently facing right, and was pointing—therefore it seems more probable that it was based on the miniature in the Royal MS. The figure on the monument was probably too indistinct, by Vertue's time, to make his opinion authoritative.

Our next problem is "the copies in oil colours, some on board, pretty ancient" which "have his hand holding the knife." Vertue, as we have seen, had certainly known the oil painting in the Bodleian. It is described by Spielmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 12-13) as a panel;⁴⁶ its antiquity and provenance are unknown, but it is probably not a very early portrait. Vertue would certainly have described it if he had considered it noteworthy.

⁴⁵ *Anecdotes of Painting* (Strawberry Hill, 1762), I, 30.

⁴⁶ See also Mrs. R. L. Poole, *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, Oxford Hist. Soc., LVII (Oxford, 1911), i, 4.

The portrait bought by Lord Chesterfield at Lord Halifax's sale is described by Vertue as a modern one on canvas. It was fashionable for a great house to have portraits of noted writers, usually in the library, and Chesterfield bought the Chaucer portrait for a "Poet's room."⁴⁷ The Chaucer portraits which Vertue notes at Longleat and Knole were probably executed for similar reasons, and Vertue's lack of comment on them indicates that he did not consider them to be early or interesting. Although he visited Cornbury,⁴⁸ he does not mention the half-length seventeenth-century Chaucer portrait there, later removed to Bothwell Castle.⁴⁹

Gray, in his letter to Walpole, cited above, implies that Vertue spoke of the portrait at St. John's College, Oxford. Gray says:

Mr Vertue's MSS (as I do not doubt, you have experienced), will often put you on a false scent. Be assured, that Occleve's portrait of Chaucer is not, nor ever was in St John's Library. . . .

Gray does not say, however, that Vertue may have mentioned the Chaucer portrait at St. John's College, *Oxford*, instead of St. John's, *Cambridge*. There is a portrait of Chaucer at the former, described in 1742 as having belonged to Dr. Holmes,⁵⁰ and as being the gift of Dr. Derham.⁵¹ It is an oil painting on canvas, three-quarters length facing left, with long-shaped cap; brown hair, beard, and moustache; black gown with narrow white collar; his right hand before him and his left touching his breast.⁵²

Eighteenth-century references to portraits in or around Oxford are numerous and confusing. Besides the Bodleian and St. John's portraits, and an early eighteenth-century pastel of Chaucer bequeathed to the Bodleian in 1755 by Dr. Richard Rawlinson,⁵³ we find traces of Chaucer portraits at Woodstock, Chastleton (and, as we have seen, at Cornbury) in Oxfordshire, at Donnington Castle in Berkshire, at Stanshawes Court in Gloucestershire, and at Hedsor in Buckinghamshire.

Thomas Warton claims to have obtained a portrait⁵⁴ of Chaucer, painted on wood, from Chaucer's house at Woodstock, where Warton had been curate from 1755 to 1771.⁵⁵ This house, leased by the

⁴⁷ *Walpole Society*, XXVI, 70. See also the transaction between the Earl of Oxford and James Sykes concerning a Chaucer portrait, mentioned in a letter of October 19, 1726 (*Hist. MSS Comm., Portland*, VI, 17).

⁴⁸ *Walpole Society*, XX, 64-65.

⁴⁹ Spielmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19; Vernon J. Watney, *Cornbury and the Forest of Wyckwood* (London, 1910), pp. 191, 241.

⁵⁰ William Holmes (1689-1748), President of St. John's College, Oxford, 1728-48 (*DNB*).

⁵¹ William Derham (1702-57), President of St. John's 1748-57 (*ibid.*).

⁵² Poole, *op. cit.*, *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, LXXII (Oxford, 1926), iii, 150.

⁵³ Spielmann, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁵⁴ Warton, *loc. cit.* (see n. 33).

⁵⁵ Clarissa Rinaker, *Thomas Warton* (Urbana, Ill., 1916), pp. 159-60, in *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, vol. II.

Crown to St. John's College, Oxford, until 1586,⁵⁶ is described by Anthony à Wood⁵⁷ and depicted by Robert Plot.⁵⁸ Mavor's *Guide to Blenheim* ([London, 1789], p. 162), mentions a Mr. Prior as occupying the site of the house (which, according to Warton, had been demolished about the middle of the century).

Aubrey says that Chaucer's picture "is at his old howse at Woodstock (neer the parke-gate) a foot high, halfe way: has passed from proprietor to proprietor," and again: "One Mr. Goresuch of Woodstock . . . told me that at the old Gothique-built howse neer the parke-gate at Woodstock, which was the howse of Sir Jeffrey Chaucer, that there is his picture, which goes with the howse from one to another."⁵⁹

The subsequent history of the portrait after Warton's death in 1790 is unknown. Warton's MSS apparently went to Joseph Warton, after whose death in 1800 (before which the MSS were badly kept) Joseph Warton's son John inherited them; in 1916 they were in the possession of Miss Catherine H. Lee, Joseph Warton's great-granddaughter.⁶⁰

Gray in his letter to Walpole alludes to a reference in Urry's *Chaucer* to a portrait in the possession of George Greenwood, Esq., of Chastleton in Gloucestershire. Urry's *Chaucer* says:⁶¹

Our poet . . . being about the age of thirty (as appears by a picture of him about that age) of a fair, beautiful complexion, his lips red and full, his size of a just *medium*, and his port and air graceful and majestick.

The ownership of the portrait is given in a footnote to "picture," but the documentary value of the footnote is slight since it was written either by the very unreliable John Dart himself, or by William Thomas, of whom we know no more than what he says of himself in the manuscript notes of his interleaved copy of Urry's *Chaucer* in the British Museum. Chastleton is in Oxfordshire, though not far from the Gloucestershire border. A George Greenwood (d. 1729), deputy secretary to the Board of Excise, is listed

⁵⁶ W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter, *The Early History of St. John's College, Oxford*, Oxford Hist. Soc., n.s., I (Oxford, 1939), 261, 334.

⁵⁷ *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. Andrew Clark, Oxford Hist. Soc., XIX (Oxford, 1891), i, 283 n.

⁵⁸ Robert Plot, *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1677), table I.

⁵⁹ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford, 1898), I, 170-71.

⁶⁰ Rinaker, *op. cit.*, 147.

⁶¹ Signature b₁ verso. The passage is not by Urry, although it might be based on Urry's material concerning the Cottonian miniature. Urry's *Chaucer* was edited posthumously by Timothy Thomas (ca. 1694-1751), Rector of Presteigne, Radnor, 1727-51 (see also Hearne, *op. cit.*, VI, 95, under October 5, 1717: "Mr. Tim. Thomas, A.B., and student of Xt Church, does the glossary to Chaucer since Mr Urry's death. He also takes care of the ed."). The life of Chaucer was written by John Dart (d. 1730), and revised by William Thomas, said to be Timothy's brother (see *Canterbury Tales*, ed. Thomas Tyrwhitt [London, 1775-8], I, pp. xix-xx; Hammond, *Chaucer*, p. 37; Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*; DNB sub Dart).

in Musgrave's *Obituary*, but he is not in Chamberlayne's *Magna Britanniae Notitia* for 1729, or in the earlier volumes, nor does his name appear in the *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1720-28*, or the school and university lists. In the church at Chastleton are memorials to the Greenwood family.⁶² Spielmann, in discussing the Fairfax Murray or Seddon portrait of Chaucer (now in the Treasure Room of the Widener Library at Harvard University), refers to the possible identity of the two portraits. From an inscription on the back of the Fairfax Murray portrait,⁶³ it appears that this portrait before 1803 belonged to "Thomas Stokes, Esq., of Llanshaw Court, in the county of Gloucester, where it was preserved for more than three centuries." "Llanshaw Court" is an obvious misreading for Stanshawes Court.⁶⁴ "Chastleton," Spielmann remarks, "is not far from Llanshaw Court," and on the basis of this alleged proximity of the two county seats he assumes that there existed a connection between George Greenwood and Thomas Stokes. No such connection has been discovered, and it should be noted that Chastleton (which is in Oxfordshire, not Gloucestershire) is about 44 miles from Stanshawes Court, Glos.

The Donnington Castle portrait, like the Woodstock one, is said to be a former heirloom of the Chaucer family, who owned the manor until 1503, when it reverted to the Crown. In 1644 the manor was held by the Packer family, the last of whom left it to his nephew, Winchcombe Henry Hartley (d. 1794).⁶⁵

In the "Collections towards a parochial History of Berkshire," 1783,⁶⁶ J. P. Andrews notices at a "house near Donnington Castle an original portrait of the celebrated Chaucer: the very same from which all those prints and drawings of him are taken." This contribution is dated August, 1759, but in 1783 a correspondent writes that "the portrait of Chaucer is now removed to Bucklebury, the seat of Henry Winchcombe Hartley, Esq."⁶⁷ The manor of Bucklebury, like that of Donnington, had come to Hartley from the Packer family.⁶⁸ Vertue does not mention this portrait, nor is it known today.

⁶² Joseph Skelton, *Engraved Illustrations of the Principal Antiquities of Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1823), p. 2, sub Chadlington Hundred.

⁶³ "Always faint, and now almost hopelessly illegible" (Spielmann, *op. cit.*, p. 15), "Formerly legible, but now too faint to read," according to the catalogue of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, *Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Paintings* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), p. 322.

⁶⁴ See "Stokes of Stanshawes Court," Glos, in Burke, *Landed Gentry* (London, 1851), II, 1308. One mile WSW of Chipping Sodbury, Glos (J. G. Bartholomew, *Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles* [London, 1904]). The Stokes family were connected with Chaucer's family in early times (*Canterbury Tales*, ed. Manly [New York, 1928], p. 38).

⁶⁵ *Victoria County History, Berkshire*, III, 292; IV, 91-92.

⁶⁶ *Bibliotheca topographica Britannica*, no. XVI, p. 80.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁶⁸ *Victoria Co. Hist., Berks*, III, 291-92.

Hearne, May 5, 1718, calls attention to yet another Chaucer portrait: "The Honourable B. Leonard Calvert of Xt Church Esq., observes in one of his note-books that at Mr Parker's at Hedsor in Buckinghamshire is the picture of Geff. Chaucer on board, which seems to him to be an original. Mr Parker's house did formerly belong to the family of the Hinds. . . ."⁶⁹ This manor was bought by Rowland Hynd from Ralph Hawtrey in 1573, and descended later through the Chilcot family to Richard Parker (1657-1720). After Elizabeth Parker's death in 1764 it was sold to Lord Boston, whose family kept it thereafter.⁷⁰ Vertue does not mention this portrait, but Hearne may well have told him about it. Its later history and present location have not been traced.

Spielmann mentions, in addition to the Bodleian, Bothwell Castle, and Fairfax Murray portraits, the one now in the National Portrait Gallery, formerly in Sir Hans Sloane's collection. Vertue must have known about this painting, because Houbraken's engraving of it is in Thomas Birch's *Heads of Illustrious Persons* ([London, 1743-52], I, 1), to which Vertue had likewise contributed some engravings.

All these paintings listed by Spielmann resemble the lost Cottonian miniature, but the one in the National Portrait Gallery is the only full-length example. Therefore Vertue's vague reference to the "copies in oils" may refer to these paintings listed by Spielmann (only one of which is definitely mentioned by Vertue). It may also refer to the paintings at Longleat, Knole, St. John's, and at Lord Chesterfield's, which Vertue *does* mention. It may also refer to the paintings at Woodstock, Chastleton, Donnington Castle, and Hedsor, which are all unnoticed by Vertue in his published works and which are all unrecorded today, though there is a bare possibility that the Fairfax Murray portrait (now at Harvard), or the St. John's portrait, or the National Portrait Gallery portrait may be one of these.

Vertue, as we have seen, did not consider any of these oil paintings originals—he calls them "copies," though admitting that some were "pretty ancient." Speed's engraving and the figure on the monument he considers to be copies of the Cottonian miniature. He has been unable to determine whether the Cottonian or the Harleian miniature is the earlier one, and so his four engravings of Chaucer may be expected to combine some of the features of these two.

Vertue's engravings provided another of the topics which worried Gray. In his letter to Walpole, previously mentioned, Gray says:

Vertue (you know) has twice engraved Chaucer's head, once for D'urrys [sic] edition of his works, and a second time in the set of Poets' Heads. Both

⁶⁹ Hearne, *op. cit.*, VI, 172.

⁷⁰ *Victoria Co. Hist., Berks*, III, 55-56; George Lipscomb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1847), III, 581; IV, 446.

are done from Occleve's painting, but he never tells us where he found the painting, as he generally uses to do.

Gray, it appears, was acquainted with only the two principal engravings. Walpole lists four in his "List of Vertue's Works,"⁷¹ viz., the plate in Urry's *Chaucer*, the frontispiece to the first edition of Jacob's *Poetical Register* (London, 1719-20), and to Thomas Morell's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (London, 1737), and finally the plate in Vertue's "set of the poets, in an ornamented border, with Lord Oxford's arms," published in 1730.⁷²

The line engraving in Urry's *Chaucer* is a half-length to the left in an oval frame which stands on a pedestal (the right hand holding a penner), against a rectangular background.⁷³ On the bottom of the pedestal beneath the bust is engraved: "Tho: Occleve Contemporar. & discipulus ejusdem Chauceri ad viv: delin. Geo: Vertue Sculp: 1717."

In general, the expression of the face, the size and shape of the beard (but not the nose) resemble those of the Add MS 5141 portrait. If we consider the Add MS 5141 portrait to be a copy of the lost Cottonian, the similarities between the Add MS 5141 portrait

⁷¹ *Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford* (London, 1798), IV, 143. Walpole is not specific. He lists the Chaucer engravings as "Geofry Chaucer, large, in oval frame. Another smaller, verses in old character. A plate with five small heads of Chaucer, Milton, Butler, Cowley, Waller," and in "the set of 12 poets," No. 2, "Geofry Chaucer."

⁷² *Ibid.* The date appears from Vertue's autobiography (see n. 77). Edward Harley, 2d Earl of Oxford, was Vertue's patron. We have not seen the title-page, and the Library of Congress informs us that the Gower engraving, which is the first of the set of twelve, is the title-page. In the top left-hand corner of this engraving there is a coat of arms (azure, on a chevron between three bulls' heads cabossed) and in the right-hand corner there is a crest (a cat-a-mountain sejant to the right on a chapeau). These are not the arms of John Gower, nor are they the arms of the first Earl of Gower to whom the plate is dedicated (see Arthur Collins, *Peerage of England* [London, 1768], V, 250), nor are they the arms of the Earl of Oxford (*ibid.*, ed. 1741, III, *sub* Harley). The three bulls' heads cabossed on a chevron appear in the arms of various other families with different tinctures and crests (William Berry, *Enciclopedia heraldica* [London, n.d.], I, 54-55; J. W. Papworth, *Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms* [London, 1874], I, 441-42), the crest on the Gower engraving being unlisted in *Fairbairn's Crests*, ed. L. Butters (London, n.d.). It seems, therefore, that the arms on the Gower engraving are fictitious, and that Walpole is incorrect in saying that they are Lord Oxford's.

⁷³ The plate measures 14½ by 9½ in.; the frame 13¾ by 9 in., but in F. O'Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1908-25), I, 419, the measurements are given as 13¾ by 9¾ in. There are two other inscriptions, one above the oval frame on a wreath: "Geoffrey Chaucer Our Antient & Learned English Poet, Died 1400 Aeta 72"; the other on the pedestal:

Anglia Chaucerum veneratur nostra Poetam
Cui veneres debet patria lingua suas.

Chaucer's arms (party per pale argent and gules, a bend counterchanged, see A. R. Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain* [London, 1939], p. 55), with the addition of a crest (a unicorn's head issuing proper on a wreath), appear below the oval frame. There seems to be no authority for the crest.

and Vertue's engraving suggest the Cottonian miniature as Vertue's original, since we have no evidence that Vertue was acquainted with the Add MS 5141 portrait. The nose, which is straight and somewhat blunt in Add MS 5141, is pointed and aquiline in the Harleian miniature. Vertue copies the aquiline nose of the latter, but defines the nostril, making the nose seem less pointed. This combination of elements is not surprising in view of Vertue's careful observations regarding the nose in his description of the Cottonian miniature. Sir Harris Nicolas' suggestion⁷⁴ that the comparatively late oil painting in the Bodleian Library was Vertue's original can therefore be laid aside. The only things which the Bodleian portrait and the Vertue engraving have in common are that they are both half-lengths to the left, and that the right hand is holding a penner; there is a significant difference in the size and shape of the beard and the nose. In the Bodleian portrait the beard is dark, long, pointed, and somewhat full in contrast to the light, short, sparse and bifurcated one in the Vertue engraving; the longer "shovel" nose in the former contrasts with the more aquiline one in the latter. Even if Vertue were acquainted as early as 1717 with the Bodleian portrait (he made a visit to Oxford June 11-25, 1722, when he "got a catalogue of all the paintings in the picture gallery or Bodleian library"⁷⁵), there is nothing in his engraving to show that he was influenced by it.

The second Chaucer engraving by Vertue was made for a frontispiece to Giles Jacob's *Poetical Register* (London, 1719-20). It is a small bust to the right, in an oval frame in the center of a rectangle, with busts of Milton and Butler above, and of Cowley and Waller below, all in ovals.⁷⁶ It is a copy in reverse of the engraving in Urry's *Chaucer*, much reduced in size, and less carefully executed. The nose is shorter than in the Urry portrait, and is more like that in Add MS 5141.

⁷⁴ *The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas (London, 1846), I, 107.

⁷⁵ *Walpole Society*, XVIII, 104.

⁷⁶ The plate measures $6\frac{3}{16}$ by $4\frac{3}{16}$ in.; the Chaucer medallion with frame measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{16}$, the portrait itself $2\frac{1}{16}$ by $1\frac{1}{16}$ in. In the Grolier Club's catalogue of *An Exhibition* [January 25-February 10, 1900] of *original and other Editions, Portraits, and Prints . . . of Geoffrey Chaucer* (New York, 1900), p. 38, it is described as a frontispiece to vol. I of the first edition of the *Poetical Register*. In the Library of Congress copy of the first edition (according to the Photoduplication Service of the Library of Congress, which also furnished us with a photograph of the Vertue engraving) it is the frontispiece to vol. II, and in the Yale copy of the second edition (London, 1723) it is to be found as a frontispiece to vol. II. The Yale copies of the first and second editions have for frontispiece to vol. I another Vertue engraving with the oval busts of Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Shakespeare, Otway, Wycherley, and Dryden.

The third Vertue engraving of Chaucer, chronologically, is plate No. 2 in the "Twelve Heads of the Poets."⁷⁷ The engraving, executed with great care, is a half-length to the left in an ornamental frame, with drapery to the left, and on the top Chaucer's arms without the crest.⁷⁸ Below the Chaucer portrait in a smaller ornamental frame is a reproduction of stanza 714 of *De Regimine Principum* from MS Harl. 4866, f. 88a, together with the Harleian miniature to the right.⁷⁹ Below the verses is: "*ad Exemplar Tho^{mo} Occleve in libro suo De Regimine Principis Wallie Principis (postea Hen. V^o) inscripto.*" In the right-hand corner "*Vertue sculp.*" The print is inscribed to "*Honoratissimo D^{no} D^{no} Heneagio Finch Comiti de Winchelsea &c. &c.*," but as the Earl of Winchelsea died in 1726, the engraving once destined for the living was dedicated by Vertue to the memory of the deceased peer. This appears from the line below the inscription, viz.: "*Ectypum hoc olim dum in vivis destinatum nunc τοῦ μακαρίτου memoria consecratum esse volui G. Vertue.*" It is probable that the print was finished in the Earl's lifetime, that is before 1726.⁸⁰

The expression of the face, and the shape of the nose and the beard are those of the engraving in Urry's *Chaucer*, but sharper and more detailed. The difference is that the right hand is hidden behind the drapery, and the penner hangs from Chaucer's gown, as in the Harleian miniature. There are, however, obvious signs that Vertue followed certain minor details of the Harleian miniature, such as three instead of two buttons on the gown (the Add MS 5141 as well as the engravings in Urry's *Chaucer* and in the *Poetical Register* has two buttons), the fold of the head-gear which is perpendicular in the Harleian miniature, but slanting to the right in Add MS 5141, and we may assume also in the Cottonian miniature. While it is evident that Vertue sought to copy the Harleian miniature (otherwise he would not have engraved it on the same plate),

⁷⁷ The plate measures 14½ by 9¾ in., the print 13½ by 8¾ in., and the Chaucer portrait itself 6½ by 5¾ in. Vertue wrote in his autobiography: "In 1729 some of the poets' heads being done, and the next year 1730 the twelve poets being published, being a work that had taken much study and time for opportunities to collect from so many originals in several persons' possessions and different places as was necessary to make that collection" (*Walpole Society*, XVIII, 4). In 1728, Vertue says that he went to Knole to draw the poets' heads there. He had already done his Chaucer head for the series.

⁷⁸ See n. 73.

⁷⁹ There are, however, slight differences from the miniature—buttons inserted, the folds of the sleeves defined, etc.

⁸⁰ Spielmann, *op. cit.*, p. 10, describes the engraving from a reissue in 1812 (*Ancient British Portraits*). The phrase about the Earl of Winchelsea is left out, and the word "Ectypum" follows "(postea Hen. V^o) inscripto." The sense, of course, is entirely wrong, as it would seem as if Vertue dedicated his print to the memory of Chaucer, and not the Earl of Winchelsea. We have not seen the 1812 print and are therefore unable to say whether the omission is Boydell's (the publisher) or Spielmann's.

he was too much influenced by the Cottonian miniature to give an exact copy of the Harleian one. This has led critics (who were unacquainted with the Cottonian miniature) to regard Vertue's engravings of Chaucer as idealized and untrustworthy.

Vertue did a fourth engraving for Thomas Morell's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (London, 1737).⁸¹ The engraving is a three-quarter length to the left, with seven lines of verse (stanza 714 of *De Regimine Principum*) below the figure of Chaucer. It must be a closer copy of the Cottonian miniature than either the engraving in Urry's *Chaucer* or that in the *Poetical Register*. The chief variant which we noted in the two principal Vertue engravings was the shape of the nose. Here the nose is short, blunt, and almost straight, the hair and beard dark. The engraving is by no means as carefully executed as those in Urry's *Chaucer* and in the "Poets' Heads."

The seven lines of stanza 714 which Vertue reproduces here are different in spelling from the same stanza in the Harleian, Royal, and Phillipps MSS of Hoccleve and imply the existence of an unidentified Hoccleve MS, since Vertue's copy of the verses from the Harleian MS, for his previous Chaucer portrait, is accurate. This evidence from the verses raises the question whether the hypothetical MS source did not contain a Chaucer portrait which, like the lost Cottonian miniature, may have influenced Vertue's work. Vertue, however, never mentions such a portrait, and it is probably safe to guess that in his 1717 and 1737 engravings we have the best pictorial record of the lost Cottonian miniature. Vertue's accuracy can be verified by careful comparisons of his engravings with the Harleian miniature and the Add MS 5141 portrait, and by studying them in the light of his and Urry's descriptions of the Cottonian miniature.

Vertue, who was experienced enough to know something about the relative antiquity of MSS, evidently considered the lost Cottonian miniature to be an early one, from which most of the later portraits were taken. This places it in the same rank with the Harleian and Royal miniatures, and makes the copies of it more important than they have hitherto been thought to be.

⁸¹ We have been unable to locate a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* with the engraving in it. The Yale, Harvard, and Chicago copies all lack the frontispiece. Through the kindness of Paul North Rice of the New York Public Library we have obtained photostats and descriptions of an engraving (two issues) in some extra-illustrated books in the New York Public Library, which, from the measurements given by O'Donoghue (n. 73), seems to correspond to the 1737 Vertue engraving. It measures 7 by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in., according to the actual measurement of item *KZ 32,255 in the Print Room of the New York Public Library. Another issue of the engraving, item *KZ 33,779, measures $6\frac{9}{16}$ by $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. O'Donoghue (*loc. cit.*) gives the measurements of "front. to *Canterbury Tales*, 1737," as $6\frac{1}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Vertue was considered an accurate engraver by his contemporaries. J. Bridges wrote to Hearne, June 15, 1717, about an engraving of Queen Elizabeth:⁸²

Mr Vertue has done his part, not only in the dispatch but in the exact workmanship of it. He is, indeed, the most nice and curious engraver in England. . . .

Nevertheless, Vertue's vignette copy of the Harleian miniature under the Chaucer engraving for the "Twelve Heads of the Poets" shows that his work was by no means photographic in accuracy, although the miniature itself has probably deteriorated somewhat in the two centuries which have elapsed since Vertue copied it. The modern photographs show hardly any trace of the three buttons which are so prominent in Vertue's engraving.

Our emphasis upon Vertue as a Chaucerian iconographer must not convey the impression that Chaucer portraits were among his major interests. His Chaucer "heads" are a tiny fraction of the hundreds of engravings which he executed; his observations upon Chaucer are mere isolated jottings among vast accumulations of notes. Only his evidence concerning the lost Cottonian miniature can entitle him to any place in Chaucer scholarship, or can justify this analysis of a very complicated problem.

Yale University

⁸² Hearne, *op. cit.*, VI, 62.

ONE RELATION OF RHYME TO REASON
ALEXANDER POPE

By W. K. WIMSATT, JR.

I

The view of rhyme which I wish to discuss in this essay has been formerly advanced but has never, I believe, been widely entertained. I am aware of statements of it by French prosodists¹ and of theoretical discussions by German aestheticians,² but to my knowledge the view has never been expounded in English and has never become a part of English literary theory³ in the sense of being illustrated from English poetry. It is a view which is worth expounding because it relates to the more radical metaphysical problem of unity and diversity in art, or the universal and the concrete, a problem posed implicitly by Aristotle and still at the heart of metaphysical aesthetics. The last chapter of John Crowe Ransom's book *The New Criticism* is entitled "Wanted: An Ontological Critic";⁴ and here with a stroke of brilliant candor he points out that poetry is a double performance in which the verse makes concessions to the sense and the sense to the verse. The poet does two things simultaneously as well as he can, and thus he produces a certain particularity or irrelevance of sense, and further a heterogeneity of structure by which the phonetic effect serves to give thickness or texture to the meaning. The total is a concreteness which makes the difference between poetry and science. In the discussion of verse, and more particularly of rhyme, which follows, I wish to develop the idea that verse gives to poetry a quality of the concrete and particular not merely in virtue of being a simultaneous and partly irrelevant performance, but in virtue of a studiously and accurately alogical character by which it imposes upon the meaning a counterpattern and acts as a fixative or preservative of the sensory

¹ Cf. notes 15 and 58.

² The most formal statement seems to be that of J. S. Schütze, *Versuch einer Theorie des Reimes nach Inhalt und Form* (Magdeburg, 1802). I have been unable to consult this work and owe my knowledge of it to a summary in Dr. Henry Lanz's *Physical Basis of Rime* (Stanford University, 1931), pp. 162-66. I have on the whole found Dr. Lanz's survey of rhyme theory of great assistance—though I disagree with his central thesis.

³ Cf. Louis Untermeyer, "Rhyme and Its Reasons," *Sat. Rev. Lit.*, Aug. 6, 1932, pp. 30-31; "The Future of Rhyme," *Sat. Rev. Lit.*, Nov. 15, 1924, p. 278; Theodore Maynard, "The Reason for Rhyme," *Freeman*, VIII (1924), 469-70; E. E. Kellett, "Rhyme and Reason," *Spectator*, CXLV (1935), 544-45; J. W. Rankin, "Rime and Reason," *PMLA*, XLIV (1929), 997-1004. Cf. notes 5, 11, and 19.

⁴ *The New Criticism* (Norfolk, Conn., 1941), pp. 294-330.

quality of words. In a very abstract way I suppose this is believed by almost every theorist. I wish to apply the theory in detail to English rhyme, especially to the neo-classic rhyme of Pope, and thus to bring out a basic relation of rhyme to reason or meaning. Traditional prosodists have discussed rhyme as a degree of likeness in word sounds and have catalogued its approximations, alliteration, assonance, slant rhyme, eye rhyme, analyzed rhyme, dissonance, and so forth. But about the meaning of rhyme words they have had little to say. At least one ought to point out that the meanings of two words composing a rhyme pair are usually quite different—and that they thus create a contrast which gives point to the likeness of sound⁵ and which is characteristic of verse, where parallels of form do not, as in prose, support parallels of stated meaning, but run counter to meaning.

II

It would be only an exaggeration, not a distortion, of principle to say that the difference between prose and verse is the difference between homoeoteleuton and rhyme. "Non modo ad salutem ejus exstinguendam sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam," says Cicero, and Quintilian quotes⁶ it as an example of homoeoteleuton or like endings. Here the *-endam* and the *-endam* are alike, logically and legitimately alike; each has the same meaning, or is the same morpheme, and each supports the logic of the sentence by appearing in analogous places in the structure. Stylistic parallels⁷ or forms of meaning of this and of other sorts seem to come fairly to the aid of logic; they are part of the normal framework of prose. The difference between these and rhyme in prose may be illustrated by the following examples from St. Augustine: "Lingua clamat, cor amat"; "Praecedat spes, ut sequatur res."⁸ Here not only the endings but also the roots rhyme, and the result is an effect of alogicality, if not of excess and artificiality. It is not really to be expected that the roots should rhyme. The same may be said for all parallels of sound which do not inhere in some parallel meaning of the words themselves, but acquire their parallel merely through being placed in parallel structures. Such, for ex-

⁵ "Mice most assuredly sounds like *mice*," says a recent critic. "But, the ear asks, what of it?" (T. Walter Herbert, "Near-Rimes and Paraphones," *Sewanee Review*, XLV [1937], 437). Rather, one might say, the *mind* asks, what of it? Cf. note 58.

⁶ *Pro Milone*, II, 5; *Institutio Oratoria*, IX, iii, 73 ff. Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, III, 9.

⁷ I have discussed such parallels in my *Prose Style of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 15-43.

⁸ Richard C. Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry* (London, 1864), p. 28 n. Cf. F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1934), I, 49. Cf. Quintilian on verbal resemblances (*op. cit.*, IX, iii, 73 ff.); *Ad Herennium* on the figure "similiter desinens."

ample, is the transverse alliteration of Lyly,⁹ where the series of parallel consonants has logically nothing to do with the antithetic parallel of the words. Of somewhat the same character is the cursus or metrical ending.¹⁰ And if a prose writer were to reënforce a pair of parallel or antithetic clauses by making each one an iambic pentameter, we should say that this was decidedly too much, that the metrical equality was hardly interesting unless it combined with a vein of logic that ran differently.

III

It is possible to point out examples, in balladry and in other primitive types of poetry, where the equalities of verse coincide with the parallels of meaning. Even in sophisticated poetry such as Tennyson's *In Memoriam* one may find some stanzas where a high degree of parallel is successful.¹¹ But on the whole the tendency of verse, or certainly that of English verse, has been the opposite. The smallest equalities, the feet, so many syllables, or so many time units, are superimposed upon the linear succession of ideas most often without any regard for the equalities of logic. Two successive iambs may be two words, or one word, or parts of two words, and so on. The larger units, the lines, also are measured without reference to logically parallel sections of sense. Even in heavily end-stopped verse, such as that in Shakespeare's early plays, the complete phrase of which each line is formed stands in oblique relation to the lines before and after. The lines do not parallel one another but spring ahead, one from another, diversely.

The more primitive and forthrightly emotional the poetry, as in balladry, the less it may demand the sensory resistance of verse non-parallel to logic. The more sophisticated and intellectualized the poetry, the more it will demand such resistance. The point is worth illustrating from the blank verse of *Paradise Lost*—one of the most artful verse forms in the range of English literature. An

⁹ "Although he hetherto Euphues I have shrined thee in my heart for a trustie friende, I will shunne thee heerafter as a trothles foe" (*Euphues*, in *Works*, ed. R. Warwick Bond [Oxford, 1902], I, 233; cf. I, 123).

¹⁰ Cf. Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), II, 950-51.

¹¹ Cf. C. Alphonse Smith, *Repetition and Parallelism in English Verse* (New York, 1894); Charles F. Richardson, *A Study of English Rhyme* (Hanover, 1909), p. 16.

The parallels of Hebrew poetry are, of course, the outstanding exceptions to the generality which I propose, but in this connection I believe it ought to be observed that the lines and half lines of Hebrew poetry are not equal with the metrical exactitude of classical and modern European verse. The number of accents is the same, the number of syllables indeterminate, and the parallel of sense (as in looser English verse like Whitman's) plays an important rôle in strengthening the equality and pattern of the verse. Cf. W. O. E. Oesterley, *Ancient Hebrew Poems Metrically Translated* (New York, 1938), pp. 3-7; W. O. E. Oesterley and Theodore H. Robinson, *An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* (New York, 1934), pp. 140-45.

important phrase in Milton's own prescription for blank verse is "sense variously drawn out from one verse into another." This various drawing out he accomplishes for the most part by his ever various, subtly continuous, confused and tenuous syntax, by which the sense drips down from line to line and does not usually run parallel in any successive lines. But if it does run parallel, there will be certain careful and curious dislocations that prevent the lines from seeming to be the unit of logical measure.

Abhorred *Styx*, the flood of deadly hate;
Sad *Acheron* of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, named of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce *Phlegethon*,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.¹²

It is I who have italicized the names of the four infernal rivers. These are the four heads of the parallel—moving back toward the front of the line, from *Styx* to *Cocytus*, then leaping to the end with *Phlegethon*. The modifiers of the first two are of about the same length and place in the line; that of the third is longer and runs through two lines; that of the fourth fills just one line. Thus comes the sense of weaving back and forth, of intellect threading complexity, in place of a cool, simplifying triumph of classification.¹³ The same handling of parallel can sometimes be seen in single lines.

*Un*re'spit^xed', *un*pit^xied', *un*re^xprieved'
*Un*sha^xken', *un*se^xduced', *un*ter^xri^xfied'
Thou' art' my^x fa^xther^x, *thou*' my^x au^xthor^x, *thou*'
My being gavest me.¹⁴

The italicized syllables escape a prosaic parallel by falling in different metrical positions, now in thesis, now in arsis. The third "thou" is thrust out alone at the end of the line. The verse runs sinuously, intertwining with the sense and making a tension and resilience.

IV

We come then to rhyme, the subject of our argument. And first it must be admitted that in certain contexts a high degree of parallel in sense may be found even in rhyme. Even identical words may rhyme. In the *sestina*, for example, the same set of rhyme words is repeated in six different stanzas. But here the order changes and so does the relation of each rhyme word to the context. That is the

¹² *Paradise Lost*, II, 577-81.

¹³ Cf. the morning *laudate* of Adam and Eve—recited in "holy rapture" and "various style" (*Paradise Lost*, V, 146-47, 192-99). This passage affords an instructive comparison with the King James version of Psalm cxlvii, 2-4, 8-10, where the Hebrew parallel of sense and rhythm is largely preserved.

¹⁴ *Paradise Lost*, II, 185; V, 899; II, 864.

point of the *sestina*. Somewhat the same may be said for a refrain when it does not rhyme with any other line of the context. In the broadest sense, difference of meaning in rhyme words includes difference of syntax. In fact, words have no character as rhymes until they become points in a syntactic succession. And rhyme words (even identical ones) can scarcely appear in a context without showing some difference of meaning. The point of this essay is therefore not to prove that rhyme words must exhibit difference of meaning,¹⁵ but to discuss the value of the difference and to show how a greater degree of difference harmonizes with a certain type of verse structure.

Under certain conditions (much more common than the *sestina* or refrain mentioned above) the opportunity and the demand for difference of meaning in rhyme may be slight.

Scogan, that knelest at the stremes hed
Of grace, of alle honour and worthynesse,
In th'ende of which strem I am dul as ded,
Forgete in solitarie wildernesse,—
Yet, Scogan, thenke on Tullius kyndenesse;
Mynne thy frend, there it may fructifye!
Far-wel, and loke thow never eft Love dyffye.¹⁶

The three identical "esse" rhymes could be very flat, mere prosy homoeoteleuton, if the three words occurred in positions of nearly parallel logic or syntax. But Chaucer's sense, meandering like the stream through the stanza, makes no great demand upon these rhymes, and weak though they are, they are strong enough. Even in Chaucer's couplets the same continuity of sense through the verse may be discovered, and the same tendency in rhyming,¹⁷ as we shall illustrate in the comparison which follows.

Pope is the English poet whose rhyming shows perhaps the clearest contrast to Chaucer's. Chaucer found, even in Middle English, a "skarsete" of rhyme.¹⁸ There would come a day when an even greater scarcity of easy rhymes would create a challenge to the English poet and at the same time indicate one of his most subtle opportunities. In the course of three hundred years English lost many of its easy rhymes, stressed Germanic and Romance endings, y, ing, ere, esse, and able, age, al, aunce, aile, ain, esse,

¹⁵ The most positive statement that I know is that of Théodore de Banville, *Petit Traité de Poésie Française* (Paris, 1894), pp. 75-76; "Vous ferez rimer ensemble, autant qu'il se pourra, des mots très-sensibles entre eux comme SON, et très-différents entre eux comme SENS. Tâchez d'accoupler le moins possible un substantif avec un substantif. . . ."

¹⁶ *Leuoy de Chaucer a Scogan*, lines 43-49.

¹⁷ Cf. the Rhyme Indexes of the Chaucer Society; Max Kaluza, *Chaucer und der Rosenroman* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 65-81; Edward P. Morton, "Chaucer's Identical Rimes," *MLN*, XVIII (1903), 73-74; Gustav Vockrodt, *Reimtechnik bei Chaucer als Mittel zur chronologischen Bestimmung seiner im Reimpaar geschriebenen Werke* (Halle, 1914), pp. 13, 26, 35-37.

¹⁸ *Complaint of Venus*.

oun, ous, ure,¹⁹ so that Pope perforce rhymed words differing more widely in meaning. The characteristics of Pope's couplet, as opposed to Chaucer's, are, of course, its closure or completeness,²⁰ its stronger tendency to parallel, and its epigrammatic, witty, intellectual point. One can hardly imagine such a couplet rhyming "wildernesse" and "kyndenesse," or "worthynesse" and "hethenesse," as Chaucer does in one couplet of the knight's portrait.

Most likely it is neither feasible nor even desirable to construct a scale of meaning differences to measure the cleverness of rhyme. The analysis which I intend is not in the main statistical. But an obvious, if rude, basis for classification is the part of speech. It may be said, broadly, that difference in meaning of rhyme words can be recognized in difference of parts of speech and in difference of functions of the same part of speech, and that both of these differences will be qualified by the degree of parallel or of oblique sense in the pair of rhyming lines. We may distinguish (I) lines of oblique relation having (a) rhymes of different parts of speech, (b) rhymes of the same part of speech; (II) lines of parallel relation having (a) rhymes of different parts of speech, (b) rhymes of the same part of speech. The tenor of the comparison which follows will be to suggest that Pope's rhymes are characterized by difference in parts of speech or in function of the same parts of speech, the difference in each case being accentuated by the tendency of his couplets to parallel structure.

Class Ia includes a large number of rhymes in both Pope and Chaucer, or indeed in any English poet, which statistically are rather neutral to our inquiry.

Whan that Aprille with his shoures soote
The droghte of March hath perced to the roote . . .²¹

¹⁹ Cf. Max Kaluza, *Englische Metrik in historischer Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1909), §§ 140, 149, pp. 162-64, 172-73. It is beyond the scope of this essay to consider the history of rhyme meaning-differences by languages and periods. That seems to me a field where research may yield some interesting results. Cf. Jakob Schipper, *A History of English Versification* (Oxford, 1910), p. 11; Norden, *op. cit.*, II, 825, 839-40; Kaluza, *op. cit.*, § 145, p. 168. In a limited sense rhyme apparently does originate in parallel of syntactic construction and identity of endings (cf. Norden, *op. cit.*, II, 819-24, 867-68; Lanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 184), but certainly the step to the more difficult rhyming of roots and of words in non-parallel positions is the most important which rhyme takes in its development.

²⁰ The difference is far greater than is shown by the statistics of William E. Mead, *The Versification of Pope in its Relations to the Seventeenth Century* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 31-33. Mead gives Chaucer's *Canterbury Prologue* a percentage of 10.7 unstopped lines against 5.41 for the *Rape of the Lock*. But he does not take into account the various degrees of end-stopping nor the difference between stopping the first line of a couplet and stopping the second. Cf. Friedrich Klee, *Das Enjambement bei Chaucer* (Halle, 1913), pp. 19-22, 33, and Table II; Mary A. Hill, "Rhetorical Balance in Chaucer's Poetry," *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 845-61.

²¹ *Canterbury Prologue*, line 1.

Here the rhyme makes its contribution to difference of sense against equality of verse, but because the oblique phrases themselves make a fundamental contrast to the metrically equal lines, and the rhyming parts of speech are a function of the phrases, the rhyme is not likely to be felt as a special element of variation. There is a higher proportion of these rhymes in Chaucer than in Pope.²² Class Ib also includes a higher proportion of rhymes in Chaucer than in Pope,²³ and for the same reason, that in general Chaucer relies for variation more on continuous sense and syntax than on rhyme. But in rhymes of Class Ib, since the rhyme words are the same part of speech, there is some opportunity for comparing the effect of the rhyme itself. Chaucer is apt to give us a dullish rhyme:

Me thynketh it acordaunt to resoun
To telle you al the condicioun. . . .²⁴

Pope is apt to find some quaint minor contrast in length and quality of words:

What guards the purity of melting maids,
In courtly balls, and midnight masquerades?²⁵

It is in Class IIa and Class IIb, however, that the rhyming of Pope is seen to best advantage. Because of the parallel in sense between the lines, the difference in parts of speech of rhymes in Class IIa is much more noticeable than in Class Ia. And not only are there more of these rhymes in Pope than in Chaucer,²⁶ but their effect is more pronounced in Pope because the parallel within the closed couplet of Pope is likely to be more intellectual and pointed. Chaucer will write:

And everemoore he hadde a sovereyn prys;
And though that he were worthy, he was wys.²⁷

²² I base my statement on a general impression which is borne out in a line-by-line analysis of four passages from each author: Chaucer (*Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson [Boston, 1933]), *Legend of Good Women*, Prologue F, lines 1-148; *Canterbury Prologue*, lines 1-148; *Knight's Tale*, Part II, first 148 lines, 1355-1502; *Nun's Priest's Tale*, first 148 lines, 2821-2968; Pope (*Complete Poetical Works*, ed. H. W. Boynton [Boston, 1903]), *Essay on Criticism*, I, 1-148; *Rape of the Lock*, I, 1-148; *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, lines 1-148; *Dunciad*, Book IV, lines 1-148.

The numbers for the first type of couplet described above, by passages, in the order named, are: Chaucer, 41, 23, 33, 34; Pope, 26, 24, 29, 27. (I should hardly expect another tabulator to arrive at exactly the same results.)

T. Walter Herbert's "The Grammar of Rimes," *Sewanee Review*, XLVIII (1940), 362-77, is a statistical investigation which seems to me to test not so much the rhyme as the line-ending. It would apply almost as well to blank verse. Franz Beschorner, *Verbale Reime bei Chaucer* (Halle, 1920), studies the number of finite verbs and infinitives used as rhymes by Chaucer. Unlike Mr. Herbert, he finds Chaucer's "Tendenz" in this direction "außerordentlich stark" (p. 1).

²³ The numbers are: Chaucer, 18, 15, 24, 16; Pope, 11, 10, 20, 8.

²⁴ *Canterbury Prologue*, line 37.

²⁵ *Rape of the Lock*, I, 71.

²⁶ The numbers are: Chaucer, 0, 13, 8, 11; Pope, 21, 22, 12, 22.

²⁷ *Canterbury Prologue*, line 67.

Similarly but more often Pope will write:

The light coquettes in Sylphs aloft repair,
And sport and flutter in the fields of air.²⁸

Or he will write:

Oft, when the world imagine women stray,
The Sylphs thro' mystic mazes guide their way.
When Florio speaks, what virgin could withstand,
If gentle Damon did not squeeze her hand.²⁹

In the last two examples the syntax is oblique but the sense is antithetic and hence parallel. It is a subtlety which is frequent in Pope (whose couplets, no matter what their syntax, tend to hover on the verge of parallel) but is rarely to be found in Chaucer. Here the structure of Pope's couplet forces more of the burden of variety on the rhyme.

In Class IIb one might expect to find that the parallel of general sense and of rhyming parts of speech would produce a quality of flatness, a sort of minimum rhyme such as we found in St. Augustine—"Lingua clamat, cor amat"—the first step beyond homoeoteleuton. One thing that prevents this and often lends the rhyme a value of variation is that through some irregularity or incompleteness of parallel the rhyming words have oblique functions. Thus Chaucer:

No deyntee morsel passed thurgh hir throte;
Hir diete was accordant to hir cote.³⁰

And Pope:

From each she nicely culls with curious toil,
And decks the Goddess with the glitt'ring spoil.³¹

There are more of these couplets in Pope than in Chaucer,³² and with Pope the rhyme difference is more likely to seem the result of some deft twist or trick.

Some are bewilder'd in the maze of schools,
And some made coxcombs Nature meant but fools.³³

There is a kind of inversion (from pupils to schools and back to the pupils in a new light) which in some couplets appears more completely as chiasmus, an effect concerning which I shall have more to say.

²⁸ *Rape of the Lock*, I, 65.

²⁹ *Rape of the Lock*, I, 91, 97.

³⁰ *Nun's Priest's Tale*, line 2834.

³¹ *Rape of the Lock*, I, 131.

³² The numbers are: Chaucer, 5, 6, 5, 6; Pope, 9, 10, 9, 10.

³³ *Essay on Criticism*, I, 26.

The two types of rhyme difference which characterize Pope's poetry (that of different parts of speech and that of the same part of speech in different functions) are a complement, as I have suggested, of his tendency to a parallel of lines. To recognize this may affect our opinion about how deliberately or consciously Pope strove for difference of rhyme, but it should not diminish the impression which the actual difference of rhyme makes upon us. Such rhyme difference may be felt more clearly as a characteristic of Pope if we examine the rhymes in a passage where the parallel is somewhat like that which Chaucer at times employs. It is difficult to find passages of sustained parallel in Chaucer. The usual narrative movement of his couplets is from then to then to then, with the oblique forward movement of actions in a sequence. But in the character sketches of the *Canterbury Prologue* a kind of loose parallel often prevails for ten or twenty lines, as one feature of a pilgrim after another is enumerated. The sense is continuous, in that the couplets tend to be incomplete, but the lines are all members of a parallel bundle. A clear example may be seen in the yeoman's portrait.

And he was clad in cote and hood of grene.
A sheef of peacock arwes, bright and kene,
Under his belt he bar ful thriftily,
(Wel coude he dresse his takel yemanly:

Upon his arm he baar a gay bracer,
And by his syde a swerd and a bokeler,
And on that oother syde a gay daggere
Harneised wel and sharp as point of spere;
A Cristopher on his brest of silver sheene.
A horn he bar, the bawdryk was of grene.³⁴

"Thriftily" and "yemanly," "bracer" and "bokeler," "sheene" and "grene," rhymes like these (aside even from the use of final syllables, "ly" and "er") I should call tame rhymes because the same parts of speech are used in closely parallel functions. To see the difference in this respect between Chaucer and Pope we may turn to the classic lines of another portrait:

Bless'd with each talent and each art to please,
And born to write, converse, and live with ease;
Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne;
View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts that caus'd himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;

³⁴ *Canterbury Prologue*, lines 103-116. Another clear example is the knight's portrait, lines 47-58.

Alike reserv'd to blame or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend; . . . ³⁵

The parallel of lines is continuous, but the rhymes are always different parts of speech. The portrait continues:

Dreading ev'n fools; by flatterers besieged,
And so obliging that he ne'er obliged;
Like *Cato*, give his little Senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause.

Here the same parts of speech are rhymed, but one verb is passive, one active; one noun is plural, one singular. The functions are different, in each case what he does being set against what he receives.

It is to be noted that in the yeoman's portrait such rhymes as "grene" and "kene," "thriftilly" and "yemanly" fall into Class I Ib and are of the sort which we described above as minimum rhyme, only one step away from homoeoteleuton. Class I Ib often escapes this extreme, as we saw, by some irregularity of parallel. But it is significant to add now that even when Pope does not escape the extreme he has resources of piquancy.³⁶ Here and there he will be guilty of a certain flatness:

Each motion guides, and every nerve sustains,
Itself unseen, but in th'effects remains.³⁷

Very often, however, he conveys some nice contrast in the parallel.

True wit is Nature to advantage dress'd,
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd.³⁸

Here the two rhyme verbs are not merely parallel examples. One is literal, one is figurative, and in being matched with each other they express in brief the metaphor on which this classic critical doctrine is based, that to express is to dress.

Th' adventurous Baron the bright locks admired;
He saw, he wish'd, and to the prize aspired.³⁹

Here the difference between "admired" and "aspired," the swift ascent of the Baron's aspiration, is precisely the point. In other parallel rhymes Pope finds an opportunity for brisk irony.

³⁵ *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, lines 195-206.

³⁶ Since examples within this sub-classification differ so widely, the numbers have little significance: Chaucer, 10, 17, 4, 6; Pope, 9, 8, 4, 7.

³⁷ *Essay on Criticism*, I, 78.

³⁸ *Essay on Criticism*, II, 97.

³⁹ *Rape of the Lock*, II, 29.

One speaks the glory of the British Queen,
 And one describes a charming Indian screen.
 Do thou, Crispissa, tend her fav'rite Lock;
 Ariel himself shall be the guard of Shock.⁴⁰

From "British Queen" to "Indian screen," from "Lock" to "Shock," here is the same bathos he more often puts into one line—"When husbands, or when lapdogs breathe their last."⁴¹

V

But what I conceive to be the acme of variation occurs in a construction to which I have already alluded, chiasmus. The basis of chiasmus will be a high degree of parallel, often antithetic. The rhyme may be of the same part of speech or of different parts. If it is of the same part, the chiastic variation will be a special case of the "schools"—"fools" rhyme already quoted, where a twist in the meaning gives different functions to the rhyme words. If the rhyme is of different parts, the variation will be a special case of that already discussed, where different parts of speech rhyme in parallel lines.

Whatever Nature has in worth denied¹
 She gives in large recruits of needful Pride.²^{2'}
 Whether the nymph shall break Diana's law,¹
 Or some frail China jar receive a flaw.²^{2'}

In the first line the breakage, then the fragile thing (the law); in the second line another fragile thing (the jar) and then its breaking (the flaw). The parallel is given a kind of roundness and completeness, and intellectual lines are softened into the concrete harmony of "law" and "flaw."

What dire offence from am'rous causes springs,¹
 What mighty contests rise from trivial things.²^{2'}
 Love, Hope, and Joy, fair Pleasure's smiling train,¹
 Hate, Fear, and Grief, the family of Pain. . .²^{2'}

⁴⁰ *Rape of the Lock*, III, 13; II, 115.

⁴¹ *Rape of the Lock*, III, 158.

⁴² *Essay on Criticism*, II, 5.

⁴³ *Rape of the Lock*, II, 105.

⁴⁴ *Rape of the Lock*, I, 1.

⁴⁵ *Essay on Man*, II, 117.

¹ ² ¹ ²
 Fear to the statesman, rashness to the chief,
^{2'} ^{1'} ^{2'} ^{1'}
 To kings presumption, and to crowds belief.⁴⁶

¹ ²
 Thus critics of less judgment than caprice,
^{2'} ^{1'} ^{1"} ^{2"}
 Curious, not knowing, not exact, but nice, . . .⁴⁷

In the fourth example the antithesis is tripled, and the order being successively chiasitic, returns upon itself, which is sufficient complication to make "caprice" and "nice" a surprise. Then one is an adjective and one a noun, and "caprice" has two syllables.⁴⁸

The contemplation of chiasitic rhyme, the most brilliant and complex of all the forms of rhyme variation, leads me to make a brief general remark upon the degree of Pope's reputation for rhyme. I have relied heavily upon examples of rhyme from Pope because he takes clearer advantage of the quality of difference in rhyme than other poets that I know. To that extent, and it seems to me a very important extent, he is one of the greatest English rhymers. Yet a critic of Pope's rhyme has spoken of "true" rhymes and "false" rhymes and "rimes to the eye" and has been concerned to discover that of 7874 rhymes in Pope 1027 are "false."⁴⁹ Another has approved of Pope's "correctness" in excluding polysyllables from his rhymes, but has found Pope's repeated use of the same rhyme words "monotonous in a high degree and a very serious artistic defect." The same critic has actually spoken of Pope's "poverty of rhyme."⁵⁰ One of the purposes of my argument is to cut the ground from under such judgments as far as they are value judgments. They can spring only from a very limited view of rhyme as a kind of phonetic harmony, to be described and appraised in terms of phonetic accuracy, complexity, and variety—in other words, from a failure to connect rhyme with reason.

In more recent years Robert K. Root has pointed out that Pope usually makes the rhyme fall on significant words and has added a caution to readers against overstressing the rhyme word.⁵¹ Geoffrey Tillotson, in his progressive essay, *On the Poetry of Pope*, has recorded his impression that Pope prefers "a verb for at least one of the rime-words in a couplet" and that "a verb at the end

⁴⁶ *Essay on Man*, II, 243.

⁴⁷ *Essay on Criticism*, II, 85.

⁴⁸ For three exquisite examples of chiasmus from three other poets, see the rhyme of "dust" and "lust" in Andrew Marvell's "Coy Mistress," "thrush" and "bush" in Christina Rossetti's "Spring Quiet," and the double chiasmic rhyme of "leaping" and "sleeping," "laid" and "fade" in A. E. Housman's "With rue my heart is laden."

⁴⁹ L. Mary McLean, "The Riming System of Alexander Pope," *PMLA*, VI (1891), 134-60.

⁵⁰ Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 140.

⁵¹ Robert K. Root, *The Poetical Career of Alexander Pope* (Princeton, 1938), p. 37.

of the first line is often followed by its object in the next line."⁵² These are glances in the right direction. Mr. Tillotson's remark is clearly one that I may quote in support of my own analysis of Pope's rhyme.

In this essay I have not pretended to explain all the rhetorical values that may be found in rhyme or in Pope's rhyme. Nevertheless, the principle on which I am intent is one that concerns rhyme as a fusion of sound and sense; and, as it is a broad principle, it is rather a starting place for many analyses than the conclusion of any one. In the examples already quoted from Pope I have shown several modes of its operation. In my next section I shall suggest another or obverse aspect of the whole.

VI

We have so far considered rhyme as it makes variation against the parallels of verse. If we think now of the meaning of the words as the basis of comparison, thus beginning with variation or difference, we can discuss the sameness of the rhyme sound as a binding force. Rhyme is commonly recognized as a binder in verse structure. But where there is need for binding there must be some difference or separation between the things to be bound. If they are already close together, it is supererogatory to emphasize this by the maneuver of rhyme. So we may say that the greater the difference in meaning between rhyme words the more marked and the more appropriate will be the binding effect. Rhyme theorists have spoken of the "surprise" which is the pleasure of rhyme, and surely this surprise is not merely a matter of coming upon a similarity which one has not *previously* anticipated. It cannot be a matter of time. Even after the discovery, when the rhyme is known by heart and said backwards, the pleasurable surprise remains. It must depend on some incongruity or unlikelihood inherent in the coupling. It is a curious thing that "queen" should rhyme with "screen"; they are very unlike objects. But Pope has found a connection between them, has classified them as topics of chat, and then the parallel of sound comes to his aid as a humorous binder.⁵³ The principle is well illustrated in Pope's penchant for proper-name rhymes. What more illogical than that a proper name should rhyme with any thing? For its meaning is unique.

Poor Cornus sees his frantic wife elope,
And curses Wit and Poetry, and Pope.⁵⁴

⁵² Geoffrey Tillotson, *On the Poetry of Pope* (Oxford, 1938), p. 124.

⁵³ In this respect the relation between rhyme and alliteration may be readily seen. It is the very disparity of the words brought into one web of sense which gives virtue to the alliterative binding. "*Fed with soft Dedication all day long*" (*Epistle to Arbuthnot*, line 233). "*Through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines*" (*Paradise Lost*, II, 544).

⁵⁴ *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, line 25.

Yet ne'er one sprig of laurel graced these ribalds,
 From slashing *Bentleys* down to piddling *Tibbalds*.⁵⁵
 The hero William, and the martyr Charles,
 One knighted Blackmore, and one pension'd Quarles.⁵⁶

"Elope" and "Pope" suggest there is some connection between the two; the joke is that we know very well there is not. Poor "Tibbald" was not a "ribald," nor did "Charles" pension "Quarles," but we are well on the way to believing both things; the rhyme at least is a *fait accompli*.

The most extreme examples of this kind of humor are the extravagant double or triple rhymes of a Butler, a Swift, a Byron, or a Browning. One stanza from Byron will do.

He was a Turk, the colour of mahogany;
 And Laura saw him, and at first was glad,
 Because the Turks so much admire philogyny,
 Although their usage of their wives is sad;
 'Tis said they use no better than a dog any
 Poor woman, whom they purchase like a pad:
 They have a number, though they ne'er exhibit 'em,
 Four wives by law, and concubines "ad libitum."⁵⁷

If Byron had rhymed "philogyny" and "misogyny," it would not be very funny, for one expects these two words to sound alike; they are formed alike from the Greek and make the end words of a very natural antithesis. They are mere homoeoteleuton. "Mahogany" makes a comic rhyme with "philogyny" because of the wide disparity in meaning between the words. Mahogany, the Spanish name of a reddish hardwood, is not a likely companion for the learned Greek abstraction, but once an ingenious affinity in meaning is established, the rhyme sounds a triple surprise of ratification. Then comes "dog any," and difference of meaning in rhyme has proceeded to the point of disintegration and mad abandon. Rhymes of this sort are not distant relations of the pun and the "mixt Wit" which Addison defined as consisting "partly in the Resemblance of Ideas, and partly in the Resemblance of Words."⁵⁸ I mean that what convinces us that "dog any" belongs in this stanza is not so much its inevitable or appropriate meaning as the fact that it does rhyme.

⁵⁵ *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, line 163.

⁵⁶ *Epistle to Augustus*, line 386.

⁵⁷ *Beppo*, stanza LXX.

⁵⁸ *Spectator*, No. 62. For the relation of rhyme to pun see Léon Bellanger, *Études Historiques et Philologiques sur la Rime Française* (Angers, 1876), pp. 1-26, on the early sixteenth-century rhyming school of Molinet and Crétin. For identical rhyme (*reicher Reim, rime riche*) in Middle English, see Max Kaluza, *op. cit.*, §§ 144-49, pp. 167-73; Jakob Schipper, *op. cit.*, p. 273. Cf. Lowell's *Fable for Critics* (*Works* [Boston, 1910], X, 16, 29).

VII

"Rime," says Henry Lanz, "is one of those irrational satellites that revolve around reason. It is concerned not with the meaning of verse but only with its form, which is emotional. It lies within the plane of the a-logical cross-section of verse."⁶⁰ It is within the scope of my argument to grant the alogical character of rhyme, or rather to insist on it, but at the same time to insist that the alogical character by itself has little, if any, aesthetic value. The music of spoken words in itself is meagre, so meagre in comparison to the music of song or instrument as to be hardly worth discussion. It has become a platitude of criticism to point out that verses composed of meaningless words afford no pleasure of any kind and can scarcely be called rhythmical—let them even be rhymed. The mere return to the vowel tonic (the chord or tone cluster characteristic of a vowel⁶¹) will produce not emotion but boredom. The art of words is an intellectual art, and the emotions of poetry are simultaneous with conceptions and largely induced through the medium of conceptions. In literary art only the wedding of the alogical with the logical gives the former an aesthetic value. The words of a rhyme, with their curious harmony of sound and distinction of sense, are an amalgam of the sensory and the logical, or an arrest and precipitation of the logical in sensory form; they are the ikon in which the idea is caught. Rhyme and other verse elements save the physical quality of words—intellectualized and made transparent by daily prose usage.⁶² But without the intellectual element there is nothing to save and no reason why the physical element of words need be asserted. "Many a man," says Dr. Lanz at the close of his book, "was cruelly put to death for a 'daring rhyme.'" And he regards it as a "triumph of modern science that, instead of marveling at the mystery of this force, we can 'dissect it as a corpse.'" ⁶³ There is more truth than malice in my adding that men are cruelly put to death not for melodies but for ideas, and that it is only when reduced to a purely "physical basis" that rhyme becomes a "corpse."

When Adam dalf and Eve span,
Who was then a gentilman?⁶⁴

If there is something daring in this rhyme of John Ball's, it is certainly not in the return to the overtone of 1840 vibrations per

⁶⁰ Henry Lanz, *The Physical Basis of Rime, An Essay on the Aesthetics of Sound* (Stanford University, 1931), p. 293.

⁶¹ Lanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-13.

⁶² Cf. G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of Fine Art*, trans. F. P. B. Osma-ton (London, 1920), IV, 7-10, 84, 90-91, Part III, Subsection III, chap. iii.

⁶³ Lanz, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

⁶⁴ Lanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 342.

second characteristic of *ǣ* [*ae*],⁶⁴ but in the ironic jostle by which plebeian "span" gives a lesson in human values to aristocratic "gentilman."

Yale University

⁶⁴ Lanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 20, 22, 243.

WORDSWORTH'S "AMARANTHINE FLOWER OF FAITH"

By R. E. WATTERS

I

During the decade following 1798 Wordsworth, as a poet, was standing on the top of golden hours. All his faculties, and especially the Imagination, were active in apprehending and expressing glorious visions and thoughts. The slight canker of doubt he felt about the permanence of his powers merely deepened his appreciation and quickened his utterance. His decline from the eminence was, however, more precipitate than his ascent. All too soon he found himself looking back, grieving that his golden day was past, but hoping, for at least another decade, that he might mount to a comparable height with the staff of Faith.

Our concern here is with the decline rather than with the ascent or summit. *The Prelude* gives us Wordsworth's own account of the gradual growth and maturing of his Imagination, a faculty which provided him with a mystical awareness of something lying beyond the senses, even beyond the intellectual processes of analysis and inference. The functioning of the mature Imagination was marked by an ineffable rapture and a consciousness that the spiritual essence of the universe was revealed to his inspired vision.¹ An important passage from *The Prelude* summarizes the evolution:

Imagination . . . in truth,
Is but another name for absolute power
And clearest insight, amplitude of mind,
And Reason in her most exalted mood.
This faculty hath been the feeding source
Of our long labour: we have traced the stream

¹ Wordsworth thought of the Imagination as performing a multitude of diverse functions in both life and poetry. "Poverty of language," he explained in his *Essay Supplementary to the Preface*, had caused the word to be "overstrained" in its uses, "to meet the demands of the faculty which is perhaps the noblest of our nature." The present paper, however, confines itself to the Imagination as it is employed in what may be called the mystical experience—the moments of sublime illumination and reverent insight into the spiritual fabric of the universe. Yet it should be borne in mind that for Wordsworth the Imagination was also a faculty which altered and modified mental images, infused feeling into sensation, bound all natural objects into an interdependent unity, endued inanimate things with life and imposed inanimate attributes upon living things, and, in general, discerned in the universe the reflection of man's actions, character, sentiments, and passions. In the production of poetry the Imagination was also paramount. There is an extended discussion of these manifold functions of the Imagination in Raymond Dexter Havens, *The Mind of a Poet* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 203-265.

From the blind cavern whence is faintly heard
 Its natal murmur; followed it to light
 And open day; accompanied its course
 Among the ways of Nature, for a time
 Lost sight of it bewildered and engulfed;
 Then given it greeting as it rose once more
 In strength, reflecting from its placid breast
 The works of man and face of human life;
 And lastly, from its progress have we drawn
 Faith in life endless, the sustaining thought
 Of human Being, Eternity, and God. (XIV, 189-205)²

Innumerable details throughout the poem expand this account. Thanks to his environment during his sensitive boyhood, Nature had moulded his character and developed his Imagination by attaching feelings of both pain and joy to objects of sensation.³ In his maturity, Wordsworth particularly appreciated his unvarying success in obtaining, through the workings of his Imagination upon Nature, "blessèd consolations in distress."⁴ During his first personal crisis (at the time of the French Revolution) he had, it is true, found his Imagination "bewildered and engulfed." But he was restored again, thanks to the sympathy of Coleridge, Dorothy, and especially Nature. He appreciated also the blissful transports that came when the Imagination, transcending the physical senses,⁵ soared to the creative discovery of a higher spiritual essence.

And I have felt
 A presence that disturbs me with the joy
 Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
 Of something far more deeply interfused . . .
 A motion and a spirit, that impels
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
 And rolls through all things. (Lines 93-102)

But disintegration of this creative union of Imagination and Nature began for Wordsworth when he came to believe that from the progress of Imagination finally emerged

Faith⁶ in life endless, the sustaining thought
 Of human Being, Eternity, and God.

² All the poetry quoted is from the Oxford *Poetical Works of Wordsworth*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson (London, 1910), with one exception—the 1805 version of *The Prelude*, which is from Ernest de Selincourt's variorum edition of the poem (Oxford, 1926). When this version is used, the date 1805 is given.

³ See *Prelude*, I, 602-612; 344-356; 408-414; 469-474; etc. In his "Answer to the Letter of Mathetes" (1809) Wordsworth speaks of Nature as a "teacher of truth through joy and through gladness, and as a creatress of the faculties by a process of smoothness and delight." Nature also teaches, he says, through "fear, shame, sorrow" (*Prose Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart [London, 1876], I, 318).

⁴ "Prospectus," to *The Excursion*, line 16.

⁵ See *Prelude*, VI, 600-602; II, 343-350, 416-418; and *Tintern Abbey*, 41-49.

⁶ There is an important change here from the 1805 version, which read "The feeling of life endless." The substitution epitomizes Wordsworth's shift away from independent intuition.

This last stage of Faith, as the present paper will endeavor to show, first supplanted and eventually repudiated the value of the preceding stages. When Wordsworth's early power of Imagination and delight in Nature became "engulphed" for a *second* time, he failed to accomplish another restoration, even though he attempted to substitute Faith and reliance upon God as the means of recapturing the sublime raptures he had formerly obtained from Imagination and Nature. And because he attempted to substitute Faith for Imagination he lost irretrievably his contact with the soil from whence came his poetic strength.

II

From at least as early as the summer of 1798 Wordsworth was conscious of a change, if not an incipient deterioration, in his communion with Nature. For several years he was easily able to convince himself that the change was an improvement, a deepening in quality. But eventually he was forced to admit the change was one of kind as well as degree; and much of his later mental life consisted of attempts to accommodate himself, chiefly by various rationalizations, to his altered powers. The emergence of this doubt about the continuance of his imaginative power may be called his second personal crisis. Of the two, it is the more important, since its effects upon his character and poetry were disastrous. Whereas his despondency at the time of the French Revolution had been caused by events external to himself,⁷ his new despondency was caused by the failure of his inner powers. He had recovered after the Revolution by returning to Nature and fostering the restoration of his Imaginative power.⁸ He never recovered from the second crisis, since the sovereign remedy had itself become vitiated.

In *Tintern Abbey* (July, 1798) he reviewed his earlier life and took stock of his present condition. The unthinking delight in Nature, the "glad animal movements," and the unreflective feelings which had been his were now gone.

That time is past,
And all its aching joys are now no more,
And all its dizzy raptures. Not for this
Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur; other gifts
Have followed; for such loss, I would believe,
Abundant recompense. (Lines 83-88)

His description of that "recompense"—the rich imaginative insight into Nature, the sense of "something far more deeply interfused"—would convince most readers that the compensation at this time far exceeded the loss. However, subsequent references to later stages

⁷ His heart, he explains, had been "turned aside From Nature's way by outward accidents" (*Prelude*, XI, 290-291).

⁸ *Prelude*, XII, 201-207.

of the progressive change fail to convince.⁹ Surely the most poignant cry in the *Immortality* ode (1802-1806) is

But yet I know, where'er I go,
That there hath past away a glory from the earth. . . .
Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?
(Lines 17-18, 56-57)

Although, towards the end of the ode, he says there is no need for despair, that he can still join with delight in the activities of Nature's creatures and still love "Fountains, Meadows, Hills, and Groves," nevertheless the consolation does not seem quite to fill the loss.

What though the radiance which was once so bright
Be now for ever taken from my sight,
Though nothing can bring back the hour
Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower;
We will grieve not, rather find
Strength in what remains behind;
In the primal sympathy
Which having been must ever be;
In the soothing thoughts that spring
Out of human suffering;
In the faith that looks through death,
In years that bring the philosophic mind. (Lines 179-190)

Wordsworth's consciousness of failing powers is expressed also in the lines "Composed upon an Evening of Extraordinary Splendour" in 1818:

Such hues from this celestial Urn
Were wont to stream before mine eye,
Where'er it wandered in the morn
Of blissful infancy.

This endowment, he confesses, had long since vanished, until if a vestige remained it was only in his dreams. But now, momentarily, "the light Full early lost, and fruitlessly deplored" was "by miracle restored." This poem neither celebrates the "recompense" for his lost powers nor expects their lasting recovery. It merely refers obliquely to a possible substitute, as we shall see later.

⁹ One passage in the 1805 *Prelude* makes no attempt to rationalize the loss:

The days gone by
Come back upon me from the dawn almost
Of life: the hiding-places of my power
Seem open; I approach, and then they close;
I see by glimpses now; when age comes on,
May scarcely see at all, and I would give,
While yet we may, as far as words can give,
A substance and a life to what I feel:
I would enshrine the spirit of the past
For future restoration. (XI, 334-343)

All he hopes here is to conserve previous harvests for the lean years he sees ahead.

The early Wordsworth had often spoken of the Joy which evoked and accompanied the rapturous intuition, and of the Love which suffused the objects of that intuition. But as he grew older and his moments of sublime inspiration became rare—as the “vision splendid” began to “fade into the light of common day”—he discovered he could no longer rely solely upon this Joy and Love. He therefore turned first to Duty. There was a time, he says, when he could believe with men “not unwisely bold” that

Serene will be our days and bright,
And happy will our nature be,
When love is an unerring light,
And joy its own security. (*Ode to Duty*, lines 17-20)

But he now decides that he has reposed his trust in these powers “too blindly”; he is tired of his “unchartered freedom.” Duty is needed to guide and control men, since Love and Joy no longer give unerring security. It is true that he tries to reconcile Joy with the “Stern Lawgiver” by declaring that “Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,” but the impression of dread austerity remains.

In *Tintern Abbey* he had found Nature as a whole to be the anchor of his purest thoughts and guide of all his moral being. But now he was seeking some explanation of Nature's own morality, which formerly he had accepted uncritically in an expansive love. He wanted something to restore his confidence in the existence of a morality which his Imagination had hitherto intuitively perceived. He sought this reassurance through processes of rational meditation—“in the quietness of thought”¹⁰—rather than through mystic insight; and he found it in a kind of ethical Force which not only guides men but also preserves “the stars from wrong.”¹¹ He therefore commended himself unto the “Stern Daughter of the Voice of God.”

His next step was to emphasize the importance of God Himself as a separate entity, whereas formerly He had been in some degree interfused with Nature. By about 1805 Wordsworth's failing powers no longer had strength to surmount arising doubts and sorrows such as those occasioned by the death of his brother John.¹² The existence of evil and suffering in the world was impressed upon him at a time when he was conscious of the recession of his earlier joyful imaginative insight and his restorative communion with Nature. He was therefore in search of a substitute. *The Ode to*

¹⁰ *Ode to Duty*, line 36.

¹¹ In *The Prelude* we learn that once Wordsworth himself bestowed “moral life” upon natural objects—“every natural form, rock, fruit or flower, Even the loose stones that cover the highway” (III, 127-129). Now he discerns rather than creates the morality.

¹² See, for example, Wordsworth's letter to Beaumont on March 12, 1805, where he argues the necessity of immortality if “the great Cause and Ruler of things” is to be considered a loving deity (*Early Letters*, ed. de Selincourt [Oxford, 1935], pp. 460-461.)

Duty, *The Happy Warrior*, and *The White Doe of Rylstone* all concern themselves with the relation of sorrow and suffering to the character of men. So, too, does most of *The Excursion*. The solution Wordsworth evolves is orthodox: suffering can develop character and exalt the soul nearer to God, and in this way evil is transmuted to good.¹³ To make this transmutation rational and acceptable to man, however, pain and evil must be shown to be part of the universal design and not mere accident. In other words, men must be assured of an underlying purpose, a conscious direction of events. Thus Wordsworth came to accept and propound the belief in a separate and beneficent God regulating all things to good ends through moral principles which permeate the universe and appear in man as conscience. By obedience to these we align ourselves with God's purposes. Of course, even in the universe of the early Wordsworth a God had participated; but there was now an important change. The early Wordsworth was content to consider man as part of Nature, with God brooding over the whole; now he was shifting to the belief that man needed and received *special* care and consideration from a personal God.

In the *Ode to Duty* he writes:

My hopes no more must change their name,
I long for a repose that ever is the same.¹⁴

Wordsworth did not, however, easily achieve this unchanging repose; it cost him many years and involved the composition of his most complex poem, *The Excursion*. Even as late as 1818, in the lines "Composed upon an Evening of Extraordinary Splendour," there are signs that the repose is by no means complete. He is lamenting that the radiant visions which were common to him in youth had been "Full early lost, and fruitlessly deplored." He prays that God may remind him of this loss if he should swerve from God. Presumably he wanted such prompting to remind him that God and Faith were now his only source of power and that if he lost their light he might be left utterly in darkness. At least, this poem, unlike the *Immortality* ode, does not contend that his present condition is an improvement over the past; instead, admitting his loss, it expresses gratitude for even one "glimpse of glory."

¹³ The tales told by the Parson in *The Excursion* are commended in these terms by the Wanderer:

'. . . words of heartfelt truth,
Tending to patience when affliction strikes;
To hope and love; to confident repose
In God; and reverence for the dust of Man.' (VII, 1054-1057)

¹⁴ Compare also the Inscription "Near the Spring of the Hermitage" (1818):

Troubled long with warring notions
Long impatient of Thy rod,
I resign my soul's emotions
Unto Thee, mysterious God!

III

A very significant sonnet, published seven months after *The Excursion*, shows clearly the connection Wordsworth had come to see between Imagination and Faith:

'Weak is the will of Man, his judgment blind;
Remembrance persecutes, and Hope betrays;
Heavy is woe;—and joy, for human-kind,
A mournful thing, so transient is the blaze!'
Thus might *he* paint our lot of mortal days
Who wants the glorious faculty assigned
To elevate the more-than-reasoning Mind,
And colour life's dark cloud with orient rays.
Imagination is that sacred power,
Imagination lofty and refined:
'Tis hers to pluck the amaranthine flower
Of Faith, and round the sufferer's temples bind
Wreaths that endure affliction's heaviest shower,
And do not shrink from sorrow's keenest wind.

Here Wordsworth states his creed that the Imagination, when it is lofty and refined, yields Faith, which can, in turn, overcome the woes and suffering of this world. This sonnet presents what is the cardinal issue between the Solitary and the Wanderer in *The Excursion*. The Solitary is the pessimistic "*he*" of the sonnet; the Wanderer is the man who has advanced beyond the natural Imagination, plucked "the amaranthine flower Of Faith," and so obtained the unchanging repose sought by both the Solitary and Wordsworth. The Wanderer's task in the poem was to "correct" the despondency of the Solitary by demonstrating the grounds for Faith and by winning him to acceptance. Wordsworth's own task in the poem was to project into the *dramatis personae* his personal doubts and feelings and rationalizations during the transition from Imagination and Nature to Faith and God.

Let us briefly review the lives and characters of the Solitary and the Wanderer, the two chief protagonists. Both sprang from lowly parentage and grew up in the country.¹⁵ The Solitary reacted to the French Revolution just as Wordsworth had—first welcoming it as a golden glory, participating in it with fervor, and then withdrawing in disappointment and bitterness. As a result, the Solitary "forfeited All joy in human nature";¹⁶ Wordsworth had "Yielded up moral questions in despair."¹⁷ Wordsworth was restored through the ministrations of Dorothy, Coleridge, Nature, and (according

¹⁵ *Excursion*, II, 164 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 296-297.

¹⁷ *Prelude*, XI, 305.

to the final version) God.¹⁸ The Solitary, who had suffered more deeply and more variously, had no such friends. He turned to Nature in so far as he retired to rural seclusion, but he found no spiritual cure. Yet he did not lack Imagination—his response to the "grand spectacle" of the sunset (described at the end of Book II) proves this. Unlike Wordsworth, however, he did not surrender himself completely to Nature and the Imagination. He did not believe they could cure, since he was skeptical about trusting "Imagination's light when reason's fails."¹⁹

In fact the Solitary's dejection emanated from his general loss of faith. The Wanderer, who clearly perceived this, tried to combat it by expostulating on various aspects of the subject: lack of faith in God;²⁰ lack of faith in the self and the higher aspirations of the human soul;²¹ lack of faith in "social man;"²² lack of faith in the possibility of knowledge and love;²³ and, finally, lack of faith in the Imagination itself.²⁴

The Solitary was therefore incapable of plucking the "amaranthine flower" and achieving tranquillity. He doubted the value of the high Imagination's insight into Nature because he could discover no assurance of existent goodness—no God, in short.²⁵ This lack of religious Faith must be considered the primary cause of the Solitary's despondency, because a Fenwick note discloses that Wordsworth had planned to have him wander with the others into his native country, where he could witness

some religious ceremony—a sacrament say, in the open fields, or a preaching among the mountains—which, by recalling to his mind the days of his early childhood . . . might have dissolved his heart into tenderness, and so done more towards restoring the Christian faith in which he had been educated, and, with that, contentedness and even cheerfulness of mind, than all that the "Wanderer" and "Pastor" by their several effusions and addresses had been enabled to effect.²⁶

The Wanderer's youth closely approximates Wordsworth's own. We are told that when as a boy the Wanderer saw a sunrise from a headland he experienced blissful raptures of self-surrender. Low desires and low thoughts found no place in his heart because such

¹⁸ *Prelude*, XI, 333 ff. The alterations in this passage exemplify the thesis of this paper very well. During the crisis of despair, according to the 1805 version, Wordsworth did not think of God when he turned to Nature, assisted by Dorothy and Coleridge. By 1850 the passage was altered to include thanks to God and omit poor Coleridge.

¹⁹ *Excursion*, IV, 772.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 10-31.

²¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 123-196.

²² *Ibid.*, IV, 260-331.

²³ *Ibid.*, IV, 332-372.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 209-224; IV, 768-778.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 209-224.

²⁶ *Prose Works*, ed. Grosart, III, 210

glorious spectacles implanted noble and ecstatic emotions.²⁷ As with Wordsworth, the natural objects and traditional legends which "nourished Imagination in her growth"²⁸ determined the character of the Wanderer. Fear and Joy helped impress important lessons upon him.²⁹ Like Wordsworth again, the Wanderer passed from love of Nature to love of Man.³⁰ Both the Wanderer and Wordsworth had enjoyed moods of ecstatic communion with Nature, although the former was more continually aware of a personal God.³¹

There is an even more important similarity: both men have now lost their youthful powers of rapturous ecstasy in the presence of Nature. The Wanderer recalls the time when his spirit was frequently "entranced With joy exalted to beatitude," but confesses that

"Those fervent raptures are for ever flown;
And, since their date, my soul hath undergone
Change manifold, for better or for worse:
Yet cease I not to struggle, and aspire
Heavenward; and chide the part of me that flags. . . .'
(IV, 123-127)

In the same long discourse he asserts that, although a man's imaginative insight may darken in later life, there is a possible substitute:

"What then remains?—To seek
Those helps for his occasions ever near
Who lacks not will to use them; vows, renewed
On the first motion of a holy thought;
Vigils of contemplation; praise; and prayer . . .
But, above all, the victory is most sure
For him, who, seeking faith by virtue, strives
To yield entire submission to the law
Of conscience—conscience revered and obeyed,
As God's most intimate presence in the soul,
And his most perfect image in the world.' (IV, 214-227)³²

Here we have the Wanderer, like Wordsworth, and unlike the Solitary, proclaiming the value of obedience to Duty, Stern Daughter of

²⁷ *Excursion*, I, 197-239; cf. *Prelude*, I, 401-414.

²⁸ *Excursion*, I, 166.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 186-196.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 1207 ff.; cf. *Prelude*, Book VIII.

³¹ *Excursion*, I, 211-218; IV, 189-196. It should be remembered that large parts of the first two books of *The Excursion* were written before or during 1805. These are the books which show the Wanderer most responsive to Nature; he is much more orthodox in the books written in 1809 and the years following.

³² See also IV, 66 ff., where the Wanderer reminds his listeners that man's powers, possessions, and opinions may be lost or changed, but that "Duty exists," demanding obedience to the rules set up by the eternal and unchanging God.

the Voice of God. He promises that whoever shall live in this manner will be

'among the happy few
Who dwell on earth, yet breathe empyreal air,
Sons of the morning.' (IV, 230-232)

In other words, he who has lost his early youthful Imagination, and has turned to God and Faith for substitutes, will find himself in possession of equivalent powers for rapturous living. This long "harangue" of the Wanderer upon the powers of imaginative and religious feelings was described by the Poet-narrator as

'the bounteous gift
Of one whom time and nature had made wise . . .
Of one in whom persuasion and belief
Had ripened into faith, and faith become
A passionate intuition.' (IV, 1286-1295)

The Wanderer was presented as a man who had completely achieved the end Wordsworth himself aspired after, a man whose faith flowered into a "passionate intuition." But Wordsworth did not succeed in cultivating his own powers into so perfect a blossom. For a character which he had created he could make the substitute work as well as the original gift, but not for himself—as his later poetry showed.

Of course, a great difference exists between the life of the Wanderer and that of Wordsworth. The Wanderer progressed uninterruptedly towards the consummation in religious faith; he had no experience comparable to Wordsworth's despondency over the French Revolution and death of his brother; and his loss of imaginative power, unlike Wordsworth's, did not affect his life's work. The Wanderer, therefore, did not have to struggle through great trouble or confusion before he decided that a God is necessary to explain pain and sorrow. He says:

'One adequate support
For the calamities of mortal life
Exists—one only; an assured belief
That the procession of our fate, howe'er
Sad or disturbed, is ordered by a Being
Of infinite benevolence and power;
Whose everlasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good.
—The darts of anguish *fix* not where the seat
Of suffering hath been thoroughly fortified
By acquiescence in the Will supreme
For time and for eternity; by faith,
Faith absolute in God, including hope,
And the defence that lies in boundless love
Of his perfections.' (IV, 10-24)

"Love . . . Duty . . . And Faith—these only yield secure relief," Wordsworth insisted in 1842.⁸³ Thus the Wanderer and Wordsworth both came to the conclusion that man can find repose not through the mere imaginative perception of the harmony of all the parts of Nature, but through complete faith in God's purposes and submission to them. This religious faith also included a firm belief in immortality as a further support for man's endurance of tribulations in this world. The Wanderer's belief in the mercy, goodness, and wisdom of God assures him beyond doubt that the dead "shall wake From sleep, and dwell with God in endless love."⁸⁴ The personal immortality he describes is far different from the immortality Wordsworth had once accorded the girl's spirit—"Rolled round in earth's diurnal course With rocks and stones and trees."⁸⁵

The Wanderer's long account of religious history helps illuminate Wordsworth's concept of Imagination in its shift from a process of individual intuition to one of orthodox Faith. The point of the sketch seems to be that just as the race develops through its period of fancy and superstition to true religious faith, so the individual develops through stages of fancy and Imagination to Faith. In other words, the Wanderer seeks to identify man's religious interpretations of the universe with the functioning of the Imagination. This is no doubt justifiable to some extent, since religion, as well as Imagination, offers an interpretative synthesis of phenomena. But it is significant that very little traditional religion appears in Wordsworth's

⁸³ *Misc. Sonnets*, III, xxxvii—"Intent on gathering wool. . . ."

⁸⁴ *Excursion*, IV, 189-190.

⁸⁵ "A slumber did my spirit seal." In "Three years she grew" Lucy is taken up into Nature; Michael, the Solitary Reaper, and the Leechgatherer are all more or less incorporated into Nature and lose individuality in the greater unity. But when Wordsworth's conception of God was personalized, so was his view of immortality.

Wordsworth's whole conception of immortality deserves study. In his early period, he reached the notion through processes of intuition with little or no doctrinal assistance. Later he came to accept it from Revelation as an object of Faith. In his *Essay on Epitaphs* (1810) he remarks that we feel intimations of immortality very early in life. We get this feeling from "communications with our internal Being . . . with which revelation coincides, and has through that coincidence alone (for otherwise it could not possess it) a power to affect us" (Grosart, *op. cit.*, II, 29). Because of this feeling, he goes on, we erect monuments and write epitaphs. In Book V of *The Excursion*, however, the Pastor practically denies this, since he asserts that the tribute paid to the dead (a tribute originating in the assurance of immortality) could not be produced by our feelings alone but only by the aid of "the pure soul," which hears the "voice of Deity" on height and plain and especially in the Bible (lines 978-993). This shift in point of view was Wordsworth's own, since in the 1805 version of *The Prelude* he said that the Imagination yielded the "feeling of life endless," whereas in the final version it yielded only "Faith in life endless" (XIV, 204).

early view of Imagination, while it is increasingly evident as he grows older.³⁶

The Wanderer tells us that before the Fall Adam had glorious visions of God and the angels—"Communications spiritually maintained, And intuitions moral and divine."³⁷ Even after the Fall, and through the ages of the Old Testament, God still revealed Himself to man's senses. Later, when God "withdrew From mortal adoration or regard" He benevolently left with man a "power" (Imagination) through which man might still aspire Heavenward.³⁸ The Wanderer is here clearly suggesting that the insight bestowed by the Imagination was actually a substitute of some sort for earlier direct communication. After describing how this faculty was exercised by the Persians and the Babylonians, the Wanderer turns to the Chaldean shepherds in whom "the imaginative faculty was lord Of observations natural," and who thereby perceived in the stars the "decrees and resolutions of the Gods." The Greeks similarly descried spiritual and divine "emanations" in Nature. Pagan religions, it would thus appear, arose out of imaginative penetration into Nature, even though they soon passed into idolatry. Nevertheless, Imagination had supplied the pagans with aspirations above and beyond their own poor natures; and even their superstition, the Wanderer maintained, was better than skepticism.³⁹

In contrast with the pagans, Christians were preserved in the true religion by means of Scriptural Revelation. The same valley, the Pastor says, which now inspires Christians to moral aspirations, once roused pagans to barbarous rites.

'Whence but from thee, the true and only God,
And from the faith derived through Him who bled
Upon the cross, this marvellous advance
Of good from evil.' (IX, 720-723)

Nature alone, or imaginative receptiveness alone, is not enough. True religion is needed to provide the right channels for the emotions

³⁶ According to Aubrey de Vere, Wordsworth once explained why his early poetry was not often expressive of "Revealed Religion" by admitting that in youth "his religious convictions were less definite and less strong than they had become on more mature thought" (Grosart, *op. cit.*, III, 491). Lane Cooper's *Concordance* to Wordsworth's poetry (New York, 1911) shows no references at all to Christ in the poetry written before 1807.

³⁷ *Excursion*, IV, 645-646.

³⁸ This "power" is described as a "higher reason and a purer will," but the Imagination is obviously intended. See IV, 664-670.

³⁹ See IV, 611-630. Wordsworth had long held that "superstitious men . . . have a reasonable share of imagination" (Note to *The Thorn*, p. 899).

aroused by Nature.⁴⁰ Thus the communion with Nature of a devout Christian is suffused with his Faith's communion with God. As the Wanderer puts it,

'Even such a shell the universe itself
Is to the ear of Faith; and there are times,
I doubt not, when to you it doth impart
Authentic tidings of invisible things; . . .
Where living things, and things inanimate,
Do speak, at Heaven's command, to eye and ear,
And speak to social reason's inner sense,
With inarticulate language.' (IV, 1141-1144, 1204-1207)

To the man who in this spirit communes with the forms of Nature, and perceives the relations which they bear to man, the Wanderer promises wisdom and repose of soul. He himself, we learn, had won both.

Wordsworth's final creed largely coincided with that of the Wanderer. In 1805, speaking of the rewards accruing to a mind endowed with imaginative insight into Nature, Wordsworth wrote:

Hence cheerfulness in every act of life
Hence truth in moral judgements and delight
That fails not in the external universe.
(*Prelude* [1805], XIII, 117-119)

But by 1850 he had revised the passage to

Hence cheerfulness for acts of daily life . . .
Hence, amid ills that vex and wrongs that crush
Our hearts—if here the words of Holy Writ
May with fit reverence be applied—that peace
Which passeth understanding, that repose
In moral judgments which from this pure source
Must come, or will by man be sought in vain.
(*Ibid.* [1850], XIV, 121-129)

The second version is much less positive (perhaps men can not achieve truth or repose in moral judgments), and it also omits the "delight That fails not in the external universe." Was this eliminated because over the years the "delight" *had* failed?

The shift from Imagination looking upon Nature to Faith looking towards God was accompanied by a marked change in Wordsworth's whole attitude towards Nature. In 1798 he taught that "Nature never did betray The heart that loves her." Twenty years

⁴⁰ This bears out an idea expressed in other terms earlier in the poem. In a certain craggy nook the Wanderer finds uplifting inspiration, the Solitary finds confirmation of his gloom, the "Herbalist" and the Geologist each find what they in turn look for, while the "cottage-boy" finds pleasant sport (III, 50-206). Nature thus yields to a man what he looks for, and what he looks for is determined by his interests, hopes, and training—either secular or religious.

later he completely reversed himself. Often, he now wrote, mornings are deceitful and evenings forsworn, the seas betray the confiding bark and the stars can be treacherous, while even a sheltering oak can attract the lightning; Nature, in short, sometimes does betray. The poem then concludes:

But Thou art true, incarnate Lord,
Who didst vouchsafe for man to die;
Thy smile is sure, Thy plighted word
No change can more falsify!
I bent before Thy gracious throne,
And asked for peace on suppliant knee;
And peace was given,—nor peace alone,
But faith sublimed to ecstasy!⁴¹

Here he admits that, when he found Nature inconstant, he begged for repose from God and received it. Moreover, the "faith sublimed to ecstasy" here claimed by Wordsworth parallels the "faith become A passionate intuition" reported of the Wanderer.⁴²

Nature had also "betrayed" him in another manner—by losing its power to dissipate his weariness and distress. *Tintern Abbey* had told us that remembered scenes of Nature always provided "tranquil restoration"—

... when the fretful stir
Unprofitable, and the fever of the world,
Have hung upon the beatings of my heart—
How oft, in spirit, have I turned to thee,
O sylvan Wye! (Lines 52-56)

Wordsworth acknowledged no divine help in this rehabilitation. In 1834, however, he insists that Nature cannot help or heal without God's intervention:

By grace divine,
Not otherwise, O Nature! we are thine. . . .
Care may be respited, but not repealed;
No perfect cure grows in that bounded field.
Vain is the pleasure, a false calm the peace,
If He, through whom alone our conflicts cease,

⁴¹ See the whole poem, "Not seldom, clad in radiant vest."

⁴² That religion did apparently bring to the older Wordsworth something of the mystic experience of his youth is implied by a passage in a letter to Landor (Jan. 21, 1824) where he evaluates the poetry he reads in terms of religious rapture. Having written that he had "little relish" for any books that do not treat of religion, he goes on: "Even in poetry, it is the imaginative only, viz. that which is conversant [with], or turns upon infinity, that powerfully affects me . . . — I mean to say, that unless in those passages where things are lost in each other, and limits vanish, and aspirations are raised, I read with something too much like indifference. But all great Poets are in this view Religionists . . ." (quoted by E. C. Batho, *The Later Wordsworth* [New York, 1933], p. 290).

Our virtuous hopes without relapse advance,
Come not to speed the Soul's deliverance.⁴³

Criticism of a natural upbringing, lacking in his early poems on childhood, appears in the sonnet "Baptism" (1827):

Dear be the Church, that, watching o'er the needs
Of infancy, provides a timely shower
Whose virtue changes to a christian Flower
A Growth from sinful Nature's bed of weeds!

Such orthodoxy is a far cry from the teaching of the *Immortality* ode twenty years earlier: "Heaven lies about us in our infancy."

Frequently the later poems depose Nature from its throne and make it completely subservient to God. In "The Church of San Salvador" (1821) Nature becomes a mere lackey to Faith:

Cliffs, fountains, rivers, seasons, times—
Let all remind the soul of heaven;
Our slack devotion needs them all;
And Faith—so oft of sense the thrall,
While she, by aid of Nature, climbs—
May hope to be forgiven.

Here "sense" is admitted only as an inferior power, useful to serve a flagging Faith. No longer does he recognize in the language of sense the anchor of his purest thoughts, the guide and guardian of his soul. "Devotional Incitements" (1832) reaffirms that Nature can be a means of inciting men to aspire above and beyond Nature to God. In the sonnet "Life with yon Lambs" (1838), Wordsworth declares that, although to the lambs Nature seems "a heavenly guide" to new joys and sense experiences, to men God is necessary if they are to enjoy "pleasures ever new." Nature, it would seem, may now suffice for animals but not for men.

The principal change in Wordsworth's character made by the shift from Imagination to Faith manifests itself in the disappearance of his self-sufficient independence. In early life he was proud of his splendid powers, conscious of the majesty and scope of his imaginative penetration into Nature, and joyous in the awareness of being "a sensitive, and a creative soul."⁴⁴ In his later revision of

⁴³ See the whole poem, "Not in the lucid intervals." Compare also the sonnet, "Composed during a Storm" (1819), in which someone (probably the poet) "who was suffering tumult in his soul" went forth to Nature instead of seeking "the sure relief of prayer." God, however, by sending the sufferer a sign, demonstrated that "providential goodness" was functioning, even though unsolicited. Here again God, not Nature, dispenses comfort.

⁴⁴ *Prelude* (1805), XI, 206. A passage in which Wordsworth expressed complete independence is to be found in the "Y" manuscript of *The Prelude*, given in de Selincourt's edition (pp. 553-559) and written, according to the editor, before 1805. The passage tells of a child finding delight and wonder and fear in Nature. When he asks questions about origins, he is quieted by the "name of God" oft repeated, until he learns to accept it as the answer. The fortunate child, however, is he to whom memories of these experiences

The Prelude, as de Selincourt points out, he toned down passages which expressed too much independence.⁴⁵ For example:

1805. I worshipped then among the depths of things
 As my soul bade me. . . .
 I felt and nothing else. (XI, 234-238)
1850. Worshipping then among the depths of things
 As piety ordained. . . .
 I felt, observed, and pondered. (XII, 184-188)

In this late version he has denied his self-directing role to rely on piety. Similar self-disparagement is found in other passages:

1805. [The imaginative rapture is]
 . . . balanced by a Reason which indeed
 Is reason. (XIII, 264-265)
1850. . . . balanced by pathetic truth, by trust
 In hopeful reason, leaning on the stay
 Of Providence. (XIV, 296-298)

In 1805 he hopes that his expression of the message obtained by his Imagination will be a "lasting inspiration, sanctified By reason and by truth."⁴⁶ By 1850, although he hopes for the same inspiration, it is now to be one "sanctified By reason, blest by faith."⁴⁷ He has ceased to think that he can hope for truth; instead, he invokes faith. Such humility was not in the early Wordsworth who asserted that the Imagination working upon Nature could learn more from a vernal wood than from the teachings of "all the sages." But the later Wordsworth could write: ". . . it is the habit of my mind inseparably to connect loftiness of imagination with that humility of mind which is best taught in Scripture."⁴⁸ He himself must have recognized the great change in the "habit of his mind" when he set about to alter a passage of *The Prelude* voicing his thankfulness that the "Power" (Imagination) which he had revered from youth not only avoids the errors

Of self-applauding intellect; but lifts
 The Being into magnanimity. ([1805], XII, 31-32)

will return in adult life when he can think for himself. Then there will be no "authority . . . To cheat him of his boldness or hoodwink His intuitions." "In solitude And individual glory" he can rely on his own answers in this "second birth"—on answers drawn from imaginative perception. He learns, indeed, that Man and Nature are indissolubly bound together in

Endearing union, without which the earth
 Is valueless, even in its Maker's eye.

There is no need for "Faith" here; apparently Wordsworth *knows* God's very mind and set of values. This bold passage was never revised or incorporated into the regular text.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, Intro., pp. lviii-lix.

⁴⁶ *Prelude* (1805), XIII, 443-444.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* (1850), XIV, 445-446.

⁴⁸ In a letter to J. K. Miller (Dec. 17, 1831), given in the *Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1939), II, 592.

By 1850 his reason for gratitude had so changed that he thought the following version more accurate:

Of self-applauding intellect; but trains
To meekness, and exalts by humble faith.
([1850], XIII, 27-28)⁴⁹

As his youthful independence diminished he turned more and more to external sources for strength. A stanza in the first published version of the *Ode to Duty* (1807) retained for the poet a large measure of independence:

Yet not the less would I throughout
Still act according to the voice
Of my own wish; and feel past doubt
That my submissiveness was choice. . . .

But thereafter this stanza disappeared, and, with it, all qualification of his surrender. In his tribute to his wife—"O Dearer far . . ." (1824)—he prays for the support of her meek faith lest he falter; in his ecclesiastical poems he further reveals his yearning for the support of religious institutionalism.⁵⁰ Acceptance of Church doctrine bestows grace *from without*, so to speak. This outwardness, for the later, Anglican Wordsworth, tended to replace the earlier personal feelings of spiritual expansiveness whose source had lain *within* the mind.

IV

This paper has attempted to follow the development of Wordsworth's Imagination to its production of "the amaranthine flower of Faith." Though the stages in the process are not sharply distinguishable, the sequence may be roughly indicated. In Wordsworth's late twenties, Nature and the Imagination together sufficed both to cure his despair over the Revolution and to stimulate him to rapturous aspiration. In his late thirties, besieged with doubts about the sufficiency of Nature and despair over the impermanence of his intuitive powers, he sought repose in an ethical Force directing and

⁴⁹ In the sonnet "Desire we past illusions" (1833) the same idea is expressed—that only "Imaginative Faith" in its advance towards God can confound self-glorified "conquering Reason." Throughout his life Wordsworth had condemned the presumptions of the "meddling intellect." But his early poetry called upon the inner powers of the Imagination to defeat it; his later asked for help from outside.

⁵⁰ George M. Harper writes: "In a very considerable degree his [Wordsworth's] acceptance of the terms and methods through which religion takes on a specifically Christian character was caused by political considerations" (*William Wordsworth*, 3rd ed. [New York, 1929], p. 455). This is true to some extent, as may be seen in such a passage as *Excursion*, V, 985-1016, or *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, III, 38. However, Wordsworth's personal longings were of great importance. He yearned for personal stability and peace, found them, and then proselytized for his creed.

controlling Man and Nature—a Force which could be apprehended through a kind of moral meditation. In his forties he was settling down to an acceptance of an orthodox personal God and a Faith which he still hoped would yield him a mystical elevation comparable to that of his twenties and early thirties. After 1820 there was little change, except that his hope of obtaining any equivalent for his youthful sublime raptures gradually disappeared.

The entire process was marked by an increasing reliance upon sources of power which, in contrast to his earlier imaginative perception, lay outside himself. There was a shift away from the joyous active creativeness of his earlier years towards a grateful passive receptiveness, away from independence towards dependence, away from an immediate apprehension towards a mediate apprehension. The final stage of Faith seemed at first to promise a renewal of ecstatic experience to replace his lost powers, but in the end it provided only a secure repose beyond the reach of troubling doubt. He came to this reliance upon Faith through his endeavors to discover the rationale of pain and sorrow and the assurance that suffering was not blindly chaotic but morally purposive. But when God was thus introduced, Nature became overshadowed. It no longer supplied the final consummation of the imaginative rapture, but became merely a valuable approach to God, whose countenance was revealed only to Faith.

In "The Cuckoo at Laverna" (1837) Wordsworth declared that on men who have

the power, the faith
Of a baptized imagination,

Nature, through such agents as the cuckoo, could bestow "impulses sublime" culminating in thoughts of Christ. It was indeed the "baptized imagination" which alone could pluck "the amaranthine flower of Faith." But it was not a "baptized imagination" which had found "splendour in the grass" and "glory in the flower" or obtained from the perishable pansy under foot "the visionary gleam . . . the glory and the dream."

University of Washington

REVIEWS

The Oxford Book of German Prose from Luther to Rilke. Chosen, edited and annotated by H. G. FIEDLER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1943. 10s.

Professor H. G. Fiedler's selection from German prose denotes a landmark in the publication of German works in England, inviting us forthwith to a critical and retrospective consideration of formal problems in German prose.

Nobody can seriously deny that Germany possesses a national style of prose, and if from time to time critics state that the landscape in German prose is "monotonous" and that there is too "little variety of feature," Professor Fiedler's anthology will certainly prove the opposite. It is true that German literary historians often produce a papery or pompous and inflated prose. Their love for long-winded phrases, compounds, insertions and preciosities of one kind or another obscure the style of such well-known writers as Erich Schmidt or W. Scherer. A predilection for chopped-up sentences and split verbs (*fällt . . . auf, wirft . . . ab, nimmt . . . hin*) affect the reader like a cold shower-bath. It is strange that a people so renowned for poetry and literary-philological research should often write so execrable a style. All of which does not mean, of course, that long periods cannot be most effective (cf. Goethe's letters and autobiography, or Hölderlin's *Hyperion*, etc.). Even in the most lucid German prose, logic is not always a good criterion when applied to German syntax. The first consideration is that of vivid expression.

There is no absolute style. Schopenhauer is right in maintaining that beauty lies in naked truth. We are also reminded of Buffon's *le style est de l'homme même*. Lessing knew that well enough when he proclaimed that everyone possesses his own style just as he does his own nose.

No doubt Germany's geographical position and historic destiny (Reformation versus Humanism, Thirty Years War, etc.) exerted a notable influence on the development of its style:

Man sehe unsre Lage wie sie war und ist. . . . Nirgends in Deutschland ist ein Mittelpunkt gesellschaftlicher Lebensbildung, wo sich Schriftsteller zusammen fänden und nach Einer Art, in Einem Sinne, jeder in seinem Fache sich ausbilden könnten. Zerstreut geboren, höchst verschieden erzogen, meist nur sich selbst und den Eindrücken ganz verschiedner Verhältnisse überlassen; von der Vorliebe für dieses oder jenes Beispiel einheimischer oder fremder Literatur hingerissen; zu allerlei Versuchen, ja Puschereien, genöthigt, um ohne Anleitung seine eigenen Kräfte zu prüfen; erst nach und nach durch Nachdenken von dem überzeugt, was man machen soll, durch Praktik unterrichtet was man machen kann; immer wieder irre gemacht

durch ein großes Publikum ohne Geschmack, das das Schlechte nach dem Guten mit eben demselben Vergnügen verschlingt; dann wieder ermuntert durch Bekanntschaft mit der gebildeten, aber durch alle Theile des großen Reichs zerstreuten Menge, gestärkt durch mitarbeitende, mitstrebende Zeitgenossen—so findet sich der deutsche Schriftsteller endlich in dem männlichen Alter, wo ihn Sorge für seinen Unterhalt, Sorge für eine Familie, sich nach außen umzusehen zwingt und wo er oft mit dem traurigsten Gefühl durch Arbeiten, die er selbst nicht achtet, sich die Mittel verschaffen muß, dasjenige hervorbringen zu dürfen, womit sein ausgebildeter Geist sich allein zu beschäftigen strebt (Goethe, *Literarischer Sansculottismus* [1795]).

But Goethe himself fully recognized the masterly achievements of German prose-writers.

If, however, even today blindness still reigns in the face of the great heights to which German prose has risen—and the utterances of several modern critics, alas, suggest this to be a fact—it can only be due to a traditional lack of appreciation or, more unfortunately still, to outspoken pedantry or prejudice. For German prose, at its best, can rank indisputably with the highest achievements of any other European literature. Lack of space allows here only a summary mention of a few models in epistolary style: Luther, Lessing, Elisabeth Goethe ("Frau Rat"), Goethe, Schiller, K. M. Weber, F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdi, Hebel, H. v. Kleist, Mörike, R. Wagner, G. Keller, Storm, Fontane, etc.; in cultural history: Herder, G. Freytag, Riehl, Burckhardt, K. Hillebrand, Gregorovius, etc.; in history of art: Dürer, Winckelmann, Heinse, Lessing, Goethe, Justi, Wörmann, Wölfflin, etc.; in literary criticism: J. and W. Grimm, A. and W. Schlegel, Uhland, Heine, F. Vischer, Hettner, R. Huch, Berger, Heusler, etc.; in scientific research: Helmholtz, Brehm, Ratsch, etc.; in history and philosophy: Niebuhr, Treitschke, Oncken, Mommsen, Kant, Fichte, A. and W. von Humboldt, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Wundt, Eucken, etc. Who then has the right to reproach German prose that it has produced "no Gibbon, no Renan," and that "of passages of splendour, luxuriance and melody such as we find in Malory or Milton, Sir Thomas Browne or De Quincey there will be found little in German." The above names shed a splendor of their own on world literature, and it is beyond doubt that Germany's prose, "from the point of view of style and content, must hold a sure place in the intellectual equipment of anyone of all-round education" (*Times Literary Supplement*, October, 1943, p. 474).

Goethe like all masters of prose knew well enough that a writer must first have something to say, and say it clearly and vividly. Whoever reads Professor Fiedler's fine anthology intelligently and without prejudice will find this demand fully satisfied.

The selection is both catholic and comprehensive, and one of its most attractive qualities is the personal touch which pervades the whole, though retaining everywhere a well-balanced objectivity. Side by side with such renowned names as Wieland, Novalis, Chamisso, Grillparzer, Hebbel, Droste-Hülshoff, Heyse, Raabe, Stifter, H. v. Hofmannsthal, and many of the above-mentioned authors, we find

that of Ulrich Bräker, among others. Naturally, as in the case of every anthology, the reader may regret the omission of some particular favorite; e.g., Hegel, K. Marx, Schleiermacher, Görres, Bismarck, Morgenstern, Rosegger, etc. But this by no means detracts from the value of this excellent book as a whole which is remarkable for its admirably comprehensive quality. Thus the legacy of Greece, England, France, and Italy is clearly distinguishable. The line of development stands out sharply before our eyes. Above all the volume may well serve as a welcome challenge to all those misunderstandings which have too often obtained in biased considerations of German prose.

AUGUST CLOSS

University of Bristol, England

Scandinavian Studies Presented to George T. Flom by Colleagues and Friends. Edited by HENNING LARSEN and C. A. WILLIAMS. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1942. Pp. 150. \$2.00, paper; \$2.50, cloth.

To workers in the same or related fields, the career of Professor Flom is familiar; to any others the "Biographical Sketch" contributed by C. A. Williams and the extensive bibliography of Flom's publications will furnish evidence of an extremely active and fruitful life.

In the Preface apologies are made for the failure to include further promised articles from Europe, only two short ones having come through: "Notes and Additamenta to Blöndal's Íslenzk-Dönsk Orðabók" by Hjalmar Lindroth in Göteborg, and a brief discussion of an episode in the *Heimskringla* by Sigfús Blöndal in Copenhagen. However, with all recognition of the essential internationalism of scholarship and regret for the present tragic interruption of communications, the book as it is furnishes wholesome revelation that in this, as in other fields, America is coming of age and fully able to contribute its part.

Noteworthy among the American contributions is that of Einar Haugen, who treats with as much thoroughness as is possible at present the remarkable phonetic variations of the stressed vowels in the Norwegian dialects.

With similar thoroughness Adolph B. Benson clears up the Swedish historical source and the considerably involved literary and musical connections of Verdi's opera "Un Ballo in Maschera."

Alrik Gustafson writes with authority (tinged somewhat by a crusading spirit) of English and American criticism of Strindberg up to 1912. One may perhaps be allowed the expression of an uncritical doubt as to whether Strindberg will ever be made "palatable."

Stefán Einarsson elucidates conscientiously the numerous modern Icelandic inconsistencies in the use of the terms of direction, not

only the cardinal directions, north, south, and the rest, but also the words for up, down, out, in, etc.

Kemp Malone takes as his subject the Gullbrá story from Jón Árnason's collection of Icelandic folk-tales, an interesting hybrid between the Old Icelandic ghost-story and the widely spread medieval Church legend.

Albert Morey Sturtevant contributes several "Old Norse Philological (grammatical) Notes." The suggestions are generally plausible and provoke no especial criticism, unless it be perhaps unjustified doubt that in the case of the alternative forms *biblia-biflia* the latter might owe its *f* to direct influence of the Greek pronunciation; on the other hand, the explanation of *Biblinde-Biflinde* is quite appealing (I wish one would use terminal *i* and *u* instead of *e* and *o*!). Attitudes taken in individual cases toward the late scholars, Heusler and Noreen, so well illustrate the weaknesses of both as to justify and confirm the warning that Heusler with all his remarkable sense of literary values in the Old Germanic poetry was not at all a philologist, in the present American use of the term. His "Altisländisches Elementarbuch" has, for example, many faults and is not as good as that of Kahle which it supplanted. Noreen, on the other hand, was what one might call a hyperphilologist, one of those who would carry the sound-laws down to what amounts pretty nearly to laws based upon individual phenomena.

W. G. Johnson discusses loan-words from English in the Swedish dialect still spoken in the Chisago Lake region of eastern Minnesota, and gives in phonetic spelling a list of some eight hundred such borrowed words together with their adjustment to the Swedish grammar.

In connection with the love of nature of the Swedish poet, Karlfeldt, Axel Johan Uppvall undertakes to list the flora mentioned by him in his various poems: flowers wild and cultivated, including also trees, grain, and garden vegetables. For a poet of the land of Linné this is not inappropriate and the addition of the scientific names is helpful to one familiar with botany, perhaps more so than translation with English popular names would be. However, though the identifications appear to be mostly correct, checking by a botanist would have been advisable. There are some misprints or misspellings and the botany is of varied age, the inclusion of spruce and cedar under pine (*Pinus*), for example, being rather antiquated.

The concluding paper is by Henning Larsen on the "Glossaries to Asbjørnsen's Huldreeventyr." One would have appreciated an even more complete listing and classification of the numerous words so glossed.

A. LEROY ANDREWS

Cornell University

Adolphe Retté (1863-1930). By WILLIAM KENNETH CORNELL.
New Haven: Yale Romanic Studies, Volume XX, 1942. Pp. viii
+ 303. \$3.00.

This study by William Kenneth Cornell of a minor but typical poet of the late nineteenth-century period fills an important gap in the still imperfectly known history of the multifarious French Symbolist group.

Mr. Cornell has adopted for his work a strictly chronological order. He has followed Adolphe Retté, the man, year by year, showing his progressive evolution from a dreamy, poetical, almost hallucinatory view of existence, through an embittered phase of moral association with violent, subversive anarchists, on to his spectacular conversion to an ardent, mystic religious faith, and his final withdrawal into monastic seclusion and self-imposed asceticism. Yet Mr. Cornell has used these biographical elements essentially with the purpose of explaining the literary form and value of Retté's work—and, within this limited and definite program, he has been remarkably successful. All the intricate difficulties, all the apparent contradictions of a subtle and complex author resolve themselves, under the reader's eye, into a coherent and harmonious development.

The critical method applied throughout the book is evidently solid; the analysis of facts and the interpretation of documents are conducted with intelligence and sympathy; further, Mr. Cornell has brought to light a number of data which were not easily accessible even to the specialized scholar, and thereby he has greatly contributed to the clarification of a particular but by no means negligible point in the history of modern French thought.

The social environment in which Retté has developed might, perhaps, have been evoked with more intensity and vividness. As Mr. Cornell judiciously points out, Retté's evolution was far from being an individual and isolated case. Many other sincere, outstanding men followed at the same moment an almost rigorously parallel path. It would have been interesting to present a picture of the moral and psychological influences, then prevalent in France, which determined such a current of spiritual life, in the midst of one of the most restless and skeptical generations of our time. But this might have led to developments far beyond the scope of a limited, conscientious monograph.

As it is, this monograph constitutes a very creditable and useful piece of work, and it might serve as a firm basis for further investigation into much broader domains.

GEORGES LEMAITRE

Stanford University

The Novels of Gomberville. A Critical Study of "Polexandre" and "Cythérée." By PHILIP A. WADSWORTH. New Haven: Yale Romanic Studies, XXI, 1942. Pp. viii + 109. \$2.00.

Since Gomberville is remembered primarily as a name appended to the title of a novel, one might think that the present book covers the whole of Gomberville's career. For excellent reasons the author had decided otherwise. Seeking to restore to light the man and his works, he offers us here the third of his contributions on the subject. Having previously settled our present knowledge on Gomberville's biography in a detailed critical note (Yale Romanic Studies, XVIII [1941], 49-100) and elucidated in an excellent study the history of the *Car* quarrel (*MLQ*, I [1940], 527-38), Mr. Wadsworth has now limited his attention strictly to the contents of the novels. (I note, however, with regret that pages 1-8 are devoted to a pale summary of the biographical note just mentioned. Anybody who cares enough about Gomberville to be informed of his biography will find this summary an irritating piece of schoolwork, little more than useless, and will have to consult the original fifty pages from the same author.)

By not pressing the search for sources, which are of no importance, whatever interest might be attached to knowing them, Mr. Wadsworth has saved himself a great deal of waste motion. He concerned himself with unraveling the relationship between the successive forms of each of Gomberville's novels—an ungrateful task of no little merit. Gomberville's imagination was limited by any kind of standard; he used it in effect to fill enormous, rehearsed, successful novels, thereby supplying an additional example of a paradox recurrent in literary history. Although Gomberville wrote and rewrote his novels, expanding, adding, transplanting the same story from America to Asia, shuffling and masquerading his characters, there is no perceptible method in his procedure. After a serious study of what he calls the "evolution" of *Polexandre* and *Cythérée*, Mr. Wadsworth takes up the "Technique of Gomberville" and his "Achievement" in the last two chapters. These were necessary to supplement the two preceding ones. They are, however, disappointing as a guide to a correct estimate of the work and its author. Nothing is less certain than that Gomberville "deserves to be called a distant predecessor of the long line of novelists which includes the names of Marmontel, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Chateaubriand, Loti and Flaubert." Let us leave out of consideration the none too decisive case of the author of *Les Incas*: the four others mentioned form a group of great writers, at least two of them ranking with the very great. In other times and other literatures, such men would have given their names to whole periods. Gomberville does not belong to their class, even with emphasis on the word "distant"; the very quality which provides the link among them is conspicuously lacking in Gomberville. To speak of "creation of exotic effects" in connection with *Polexandre* is a perversion of terms. A curious interest in, and a utilization in writing of, the ways and manners of far-away peoples does equate with what is

really involved in *exotisme*, and the difference between the two serves precisely to define the artistic achievements of *exotisme*. All Gomberville needed (and probably sought) to compose his most glittering descriptions was to attend performances of court ballets: his supposed "exoticism" is exactly in the class with their librettos, *quos vide*.

It is surprising that Mr. Wadsworth, such an able historian of the *Car* quarrel, should not have pointed more clearly to the apparently true virtue of Gomberville, a virtue well known to Chapelain and to a later judge as delicate as Bouhours (who ranked Gomberville with Balzac and Vaugelas), namely, that of writing "*une langue pure*." Tested on every quality which goes to make a novelist worthy of the name, Gomberville is undistinguished and, in spite of sprinkled praise, Mr. Wadsworth's analysis bears this out. However, in the judgment of his time, the time of Richelieu, bent on purifying social amenities along several lines (which it did with a record of some lasting success, it should be noted), Gomberville's diction was free of blemish. This alone, "*une langue pure*," joined with an urge to write—which needs not be demonstrated in Gomberville—suffices to make a man a writer. It accounts for most, if not all, of Gomberville's merits. He cut the figure of a polished, model writer much more than that of a first-rate novelist, even for his day, for the success of his novels is in no way a full measure of the taste of the contemporaries of Descartes and Corneille in that direction.

Thus the blank spot we seemed to detect under the name of Gomberville in the history of the novel, between d'Urfé and Melle de Scudéry—obsessed as we are with the idea of underlying, inevitable, irresistible, material evolution in everything mentionable—was a real one after all. When Mr. Wadsworth says that Gomberville "improved his technique and added fresh sources of interest with each new version of his novel," and "finally achieved and clung to a pattern of great variety" (pages 105-6), he credits, I am afraid, the mediocre craftsman of the novel with improvements which actually were merely new performances of the neat prose writer. This last qualification carried prestige between 1630 and 1640, but cannot blind us today. How unfair it would be to poor Gomberville to take up again that list of writers, from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre to Loti, and measure him against them as a prose master alone, even if we allowed historical perspective to work to the limit in his favor!

No miscellaneous great claims should be made in behalf of Gomberville; but, obviously, the seventeenth century, a still poorly understood period of French literature, will not be accounted for unless a Gomberville fits into the picture exactly. Mr. Wadsworth's study is the record of a valuable, painstaking analysis, which bids fair to remain the standard reference on the factual aspect of the subject. To match it, we still need an explanation of the perplexing success of Gomberville's novel: this is the final problem begging to be authoritatively solved.

MARC DENKINGER

University of Michigan

Enrique Gaspar and the Social Drama in Spain. By LEO KIRSCHENBAUM. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Volume 25, Number 4, 1944. Pp. viii + 317-424.

Enrique Gaspar (1842-1902) is either completely ignored or given but passing mention in most histories of Spanish literature. Yet his work was of some importance, for as Mr. Kirschenbaum points out, "he introduced the Spanish stage to the modern philosophical and psychological drama" (page 320), and "was determined to reform the national theater and to create prose plays which would portray middle-class Spanish society as it actually lived and spoke, concretize its struggles and temptations" (page 323).

This study is divided into eight sections, comprising an adequate account of Gaspar's life, a discussion of his theory of the social drama, and analyses of nine plays of this type. The numerous comments from contemporary critics, which are interspersed in these analyses, reflect the difficulties which confronted a dramatist who sponsored realism in an age still dominated by Echegaray. The study also contains a conclusion, notes, bibliography and index.

The author is to be commended for the painstaking way in which he has compiled his material, visiting Europe to interview relatives and friends of the dramatist and to study files of periodicals. Especially valuable is the bibliography in which are listed the forty-three dramas of Gaspar, with specific references to the date and place of first performance, novels, essays and poetry, as well as primary sources of bibliographical material, critical and necrological studies.

Since this is the first adequate treatment we have of this dramatist, and is the only one we are likely to have, one seems justified in asking for a rather more detailed and better documented presentation of Gaspar's theory of the drama in Chapter II.

This work is a welcome contribution to the field of Spanish drama and rescues from almost total oblivion a playwright who at least indicated the path which Galdós, Benavente, and others were to follow.

WILLIAM E. WILSON

University of Washington

The College Survey of English Literature. Edited by B. J. WHITING, FRED B. MILLETT, ALEXANDER M. WITHERSPOON, ODELL SHEPERD, ARTHUR PALMER HUDSON, EDWARD WAGENKNECHT, and LOUIS UNTERMAYER. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942. Volume I, pp. v + 1140; Volume II, pp. v + 1172. \$3.75 per volume.

The success of an anthology depends largely upon the judgment of its editors in their selection of material. The seven editors of the *College Survey of English Literature* have chosen intelligently and carefully. No period is neglected or overcrowded.

Naturally and wisely the various periods of literature were assigned to scholars especially fitted for their tasks. In volume one,

B. J. Whiting of Harvard University edits the period from *Beowulf* to the sixteenth century; Fred B. Millett of Wesleyan University edits the sixteenth century; Alexander M. Witherspoon of Yale University, the seventeenth century and Odell Sheperd of Trinity College, the eighteenth century. In volume two Arthur Palmer Hudson of the University of North Carolina edits the romantic period; Edward Wagenknecht of the University of Washington, the Victorian period; and Louis Untermeyer, the contemporary period of English literature.

All seven of these men have chosen to emphasize a limited number of the important writers in their particular fields, giving comprehensive and representative examples of the authors' works, examples, for the most part, presented in their entirety rather than in fragmentary form. In an anthology this tendency to stress a modest number of writers rather than give a cursory account of many is sound and fruitful. Especially gratifying is the list of complete plays. The list includes: *The Second Play of the Sheperds*, *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus*, *The First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, *The Way of the World*, and *She Stoops to Conquer*.

In addition to the judicious selection and arrangement of material the *College Survey of English Literature* is to be recommended for its stimulating and comprehensive introductions with their wealth of historical and biographical material and for its numerous and excellent illustrations.

HELEN ANDREWS KAHIN

University of Washington

A Dictionary of Words and Idioms Associated with Judas Iscariot: A Compilation Based Mainly on Material Found in the Germanic Languages. By WAYLAND D. HAND. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 24, No. 3, 1942. Pp. 289-356. Seventy-five cents.

There are two strains in the growth of Judas' apocryphal legend, the antagonism which calls him devil and the humanitarianism which seeks to explain and even to justify his acts. Professor Hand, primarily concerned with the first of these traditions, has compiled for us a *Schimpflexikon*, or glossary of insults. To defraud is *abjudassen*; freckles are *brans de Judas* (Fr.) or *Judasdreck*; measles are *mal de Judas* (Fr.); a miser is *penga-Judas* (Swed.); clerical avarice is *Iscariotism* and a bad debt *Judasgelt*; a prodigal son is *Judas de la familia* (Sp.) or *Judaskind*; treacherous rocks are *Judas-heaps*; blood-money is *Judaslohn*; the sudden stab of an aching tooth is a *Judaskneep* (Du.); and bandits gather in a *Judas-kompani* (Swed.). *Judas-* becomes a formative element equivalent to *mis-* or *evil-*, and, true to semantic processes, eventually pales off into a mere intensifying prefix, as in *Judaspein* "severe torment," *Judaskold* "extreme cold" (Dan.), or *Judaskneep* "sudden stab of

pain." The simple morpheme *Judas* has the primary meaning traitor, but it could carry also the connotations of Jesuit, devil, miser, beggar (the one who presents a cup in a travelling group), crooked gambler's helper (our con-men would call him a *skill* or a *roper*), tale-bearer (stoolpigeon), rowdy child, a person who spits on another, a ram who leads the sheep to slaughter, a peep-hole or mirror used in espionage, and a bloodsucking lizard. The insult is less clear, but probably hidden in the following meanings: treasurer, a silk-worm which isolates itself in the cocoon and dies, the excrescence on a pig's vertebra, a French coin worth thirty deniers, and Bohemian bakery-goods (perhaps a transfer from *Judaszung* or *Judasohr*—first applied to the honey-tongue of a traitorous flatterer, and then, by association with the Eastern rites which burned Judas in effigy and served honey-filled pastry, shifted to the cake which caused stomach-aches?). Gr-reat jumping Judas! Judas priest!

We move to a broader realm of state affairs and culture history when we read of "Sir Judas," the knight who betrayed Sir Walter Raleigh; "Judas von Tirol," the peasant who informed on Andreas Hofer; "der ritterliche Judas" Ganelon; "the Judas of the West," applied by Andrew Jackson to his compromising rival, Henry Clay; "the Judas of Downing Street," Neville Chamberlain, alleged betrayer of Czechoslovakia; "the Judas Iscariot of the labor movement," John L. Lewis, according to William Green, but William Green, according to Homer Martin. In modern times the term has been associated with Lord Halifax, Roosevelt, Stalin, and Hitler. Semantics plays no favorites. To Hand's documentation concerning direct personal insults we may add the delightful flyting in which Walter Kennedy called William Dunbar "irefull attir cop, Pilate apostata, Judas, iow, iuglour, Lollard laureate." Here we see the folk etymology which associated Jew and Judas, an application not improved by its conscious use in the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Robert Ferguson, tempter and betrayer of the Duke of Monmouth, would seem to have richly merited Dryden's "Judas that keeps the Rebels Pension-Purse." Perhaps the wittiest use of the term is that ascribed to Sydney Smith: "The Bishop of — is so like Judas that I now firmly believe in the apostolic succession" (H. L. Mencken, *A New Dictionary of Quotations* [New York, 1942], p. 108).

So much for the devilish Judas and his semantic spawn, a progeny amply treated by Professor Hand. What we miss in his introduction is a more adequate presentation of the other side, the romantic and humanitarian rehabilitation of the Twelfth Apostle. To Hand's mention of the defenses by Klopstock and De Quincey (page 300) should be added those by Leonid Andreyev, "Mark Rutherford," and Sholom Asch. Hand remarks that there is a "total lack of terms to depict Judas in his new role of an enlightened and prescient being"; and in some measure it is true that such a "benign view . . . has never become widespread nor truly popular." But his own glossary provides evidence, not fully used, that the humanitarian tradition is common enough, and older than the nineteenth century. At the very beginning of Christianity we are told that there were

Iscariotists or *Judaistae*, provided with their Gospel of Judas. How much their alleged veneration of Judas was true Gnostic or Manichaeen devil-worship, and how much was an unfriendly fiction of the orthodox, we cannot at this remote date be sure. Gnosticism may well have sought to make Judas a conscious instrument of destiny. When the Middle Ages, however, adapted the story of Oedipus to fit Judas, it was bound to transfer some of the original tragic spirit to the new hero. Judas is evil because he is illegitimate (a humanitarian touch common enough in Shakespeare and the Romantic Movement); when he recognizes his crimes of parricide and incest he has sufficient contrition to become one of the Disciples. The use of a similar legend for St. Gregory is evidence that Judas was being romanticized, or at least explained. The tragic paradox is implicit in the popular medieval riddle "Quis implevit verbum dei et meruit penas?" (*An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall* [Oxford, 1901], p. 105). Another amelioration is found in the St. Brandan legend, where Judas enjoys periodical surcease from Hell because he once gave his cloak to a leper. The suggestion that the Betrayer did on one occasion practise his Master's rules of charity is humanitarian in effect, though of course the primary intention is to underline the divine mercy which could be shown to the vilest of men. There is a tradition, we may remember, that St. Thomas Aquinas himself prayed for the soul of Satan. Judas is further humanized by the ballad tradition, which makes him the victim of a scheming wife or sister. Petrus Cantor in the twelfth century definitely says that Judas' family was in need (G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages* [New York, 1935], I, 39). Coptic apocrypha, perhaps as early as the fifth century, speak of the tempting wife (M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [Oxford, 1924], p. 149). Among Hand's own entries we may call upon *Armer Judas*, which throws emphasis on his unhappy end; *Immemor Judas*, which suggests that he was not aware of the consequences of his deed; and *Judasangst*, *Judasreue*, *Judasschweiss* (perhaps also *Judasmartern*?) which reflect his agony following the Betrayal. There may be, therefore, some doubt whether the folk originated the humanitarian tradition or any part of it; but there is no doubt that they were willing at times to transmit the tradition on learned and more subtle authority.

The reader may think of many things to add to Hand's useful catalogue. We might nominate for entries the following: "arvulu di Giuda" (Oskar Dähnhardt, *Natursagen* [Leipzig, 1907-12]), "Judas Attack" and "Judas Jew" (*NED*, s.v. "Judas. 4"); "Judas Way" (Smith and Heseltine, *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* [Oxford, 1935], p. 15); "Judas felawes" (W. W. Skeat, ed., *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman* [Oxford, 1924], I, 270); "Judas sign" (made with thirty thumbtacks—*Look Magazine*, December 28, 1943, p. 12); "Scariotti" (the town in Italy where Judas was shipwrecked; see Hand's introduction, p. 290, and for an itinerary which may help to localize it, Sercambi's *Novelle*, in Bryan and Dempster, *Sources and Analogues of Chau-*

cer's Canterbury Tales [Chicago, 1941], p. 54); "Aceldama," the name of the field of blood which Judas purchased with his ill-gotten gains, and in which, for purposes of aetiology and exegesis, he is said to have died. The last-mentioned name lived on as a term of abuse; it was applied by irate Whigs to the estate of Jeffreys, the Bloody Justice (Macaulay, *History of England* [New York, 1866], II, 255).

To *Judas-Ear* should be added references to Dähnhardt, II, 237, and *NED*, s.v. "Jew's ear"; to *Judasschwester* the term "Daughters of Judas," used in 1388 for certain lascivious women who led a Franciscan friar off the straight and narrow path (Coulton, IV, 285-86); to *Judasverbrennen* and *Judasfeuer* the classic treatment in Wilhelm Mannhardt (*Wald- und Feldkulte* [Berlin, 1875-77], I, 502-08). *Judas Gallows* finds further illustration in Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (Boston, 1923 [1841], p. 158), which describes how certain Genoese Catholics "have an effigy of Judas, which the crew amuse themselves with keel-hauling and hanging by the neck from the yard-arms." The *Iscariotae* who at various times have denied that Judas partook of the Eucharist are matched by a Coptic gospel (James, pp. 148, 150) which says that Judas was the last to receive the Bread and "had no inheritance" in it, or by the traditions about his empty seat which found their way into romance (J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, 2nd ed. [Göttingen, 1928], I, 230-33). *Judas Robe* was yellow because of anti-Semitic sumptuary laws. *Judasite* for Jesuit recalls a satire by John Oldham, in which the dying Loyola calls Judas "Th' example of our great society." The Jesuits were not the first religious order to suffer such opprobrium. Comparison of evil monks to wolves among sheep and Judas among the apostles is at least as old as Thiofrid of Epternach's *Vita Willibrordi Metrica* (about 1105; ed. Konrad Rossberg [Leipzig, 1883], p. 46). It reappears in Chaucer's "If any Judas in your covent be" and in Capgrave's term for the Austin Canon's Regular (see *Speculum*, XVIII [1943], 360). *Judas Color* was not always red or brown; a 1480 *Scholars' Manual* has the comparison "black as the beard of Judas" (Coulton, III, 146). *Judaskind* is explained by legends like the Siebenbürger tale in which Judas turns to a serpent and bites his mother's heel (Dähnhardt, II, 235-36). To the four trees or shrubs which in modern times have acquired the name *Judas Tree* might be added the others on which, according to traditional exegesis of the Synoptics, Judas hanged himself: fig, sycamore, poplar and aspen (which still tremble with the terrible memory), willow, tamarisk, juniper, birch, vine, tobacco, onion, garlic and radish (Dähnhardt, II, 236-42). This list belies an English proverb (Smith and Heseltine, p. 248): "Judas might have repented before he could have found a tree to have hanged himself upon, had he betrayed Christ in Scotland."

Some day, we hope, will be written the full story of Judas, a story ably begun by Büchner and Freytag, and ably continued in this country by Archer Taylor and Paull F. Baum. All methods which

will order the scattered materials of folklore are commendatory, and Hand's onomastical approach takes its distinctive place among those efforts with which disciplined scholarship is endeavoring to replace the "country vicar school of folklore."

FRANCIS LEE UTLEY

Ohio State University

George Gascoigne's "*A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres.*" Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by C. T. PROUTY. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1942. Pp. 305. \$2.50.

Professor Prouty's edition of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* will be welcomed—with reservations—by all who are interested in Elizabethan poetry. Here, for the first time, we are provided not only with a critical text, but with information enabling us to see clearly the relation of the *Flowres* to the later *Posies*. The editor's intensive research on the life of Gascoigne, evinced in his excellent study, *George Gascoigne, Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier, and Poet* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1942), has been liberally drawn upon in the Introduction to the present work to explain the circumstances under which the *Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* came to press. His close examination of the text corroborates Greg's refutation of the notion that there were two editions of the *Flowres*; and although he has not explained all the inconsistencies of Gascoigne's own statements about the poems, he has pretty effectively disposed of Ward's theory of multiple authorship. The argument "that all the posies, beginning with 'Si fortunatus infoelix' and ending with 'Tam Marti Quam Mercurio,' represent successive stages in Gascoigne's life" (page 34) is both novel and reasonably convincing.

It is unfortunate that an edition of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* which will undoubtedly supersede that of Ward should not be superior to it in all respects. Professor Prouty chides Ward (pages 18-19) for omitting the prose links in "The Adventures of Master F. J.," and rightly; but one wonders whether his own failure to reprint the two plays preceding the poems is not likewise a misrepresentation of the original volume. Whatever the meaning of the title and the original intent of the author, the plays were included in the volume "Imprinted for Richarde Smith." A modern reader buying a reprint under the title *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* may justifiably feel cheated not to find them there. No doubt some readers will also feel that a format suitable for monographs on ichthyology and the geology of the Mississippi basin is not wholly suited to poetry. Here the charming daintiness of Ward's edition (London, 1926) has all the advantage.

One textual peculiarity requires comment. On pages 9-10 of the Introduction, Professor Prouty specifically states that he has examined and collated the Huntington Library exemplar of *A Hun-*

dreth Sundrie Flowres. In the Textual Notes, however, no variants appear from that volume, nor is it named (page 224) among the copies collated. A sampling of Professor Prouty's text side by side with that of the Huntington copy reveals the following variants:

		Prouty	HN
Page 57, line 39:		company	company,
58	45	abashed,	abashed
60	5	Sonet	<i>Sonet</i>
	6	borrowed	borowed
	43	recreation	rereacion
76	2	nowe	now
	24	Dame	dame
76	40	Mistress	Mistresse
77	25	sundries	sundrie
79	9	in	ln
	19	<i>London</i>	London
80	26	drive	dryve
	45	visit	visite
96	39	aucthorritie	auctoritie
97	6	government	gouvernement
	27	Yea,	Yea
98	14	wives	wyves
100	5	grief:	grief
	18	therwithall	therwithal

With one exception the other readings of these pages in the Huntington copy agree with those recorded for texts A-F in Professor Prouty's edition: the Huntington copy retains the initial bracket on page 80, line 30. Two other samplings (pages 126-30, 196-200), both in the verse sections of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, show no variants. But the reader is left wondering whether the above-listed strange disagreement of readings reflects unfulfilled intentions or careless preparation of text.

Of misprints and similar eccentricities there is a relatively small number. Among the former, one notes "Maser" (page 21, line 23) for "Master"; "poerty" (page 41, line 13) for "poetry"; "*Ringes*" (page 258, line 8) for "*Rings*"; "forunatus" (page 260, line 14) for "fortunatus." Among the latter, one notes miscellaneously that "Iovio" (pages 29, 32, 249) is allowed to pass for Giovio; that the "Mr. Fleay" (page 262, line 22) of the Notes suggests a living writer; that the misplaced *and* of "Painter, Pettie, and Golding, the translators of Seneca, enriched the vernacular by their work" (page 42) makes nonsense of the passage. One also is puzzled to find the Breton family name spelled sometimes with two *t*'s (e.g., pages 33, 256), sometimes with one (pages 253, 267). And the annotation on "The husband . . . kept Cut at home" (page 78, line 18; Notes, page 252) seems needlessly obtuse. Surely there the word *Cut* refers to Lady Elynor, not to the husband, and is roughly equivalent to *prostitute* (cf. *N.E.D.*, "cut," sb. 29).

The independent utility of the Introduction is somewhat lessened by an over-frequent reference to the editor's *George Gascoigne* for

evidence that the reader should like to see before him as he reads. When he turns from the Introduction to the Notes, the reader may well feel that much more care has been expended upon the textual than upon the critical notes. Perhaps the provision of a Glossary (pages 295-99) for obscure words requiring definition without further comment partially accounts for the appearance of thinness in the critical notes. There are two indices to the poems (by line and by number), but the work lacks a general index.

These quibbling reservations notwithstanding, the work is a useful and real contribution to Gascoigne studies. Professor Prouty does not pretend to have solved all the problems of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*. But his work has gone far toward clearing up the mystification surrounding the volume and its relation to the *Posies*, and toward evaluating it as another significant Gascoigne "first."

JOHN LEON LIEVSAY

Stanford University

The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene." By JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. ix + 299. \$3.00.

Mrs. Bennett develops in detail the thesis that Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, far from being a work composed seriatim in the order of the published poem, is the product of "ten years of experimentation," with revisions made to correspond with changes in the poet's plans for and attitude toward his work. The earliest work appears in Books III and IV, where the influence of Ariosto is most apparent. The poet began—in a lighter vein than that indicated by the letter to Raleigh—with a continuation of *The Tale of Sir Thopas*, in imitation of Ariosto. The problem of reconciling an epic theme with the praise of a feminine ruler Spenser solved first by the device of the Order of Maidenhead, with the feast of the *Faerie Queene* and the role of Arthur as later additions.

The attitude toward critical theory expressed in the first paragraph of the Preface illustrates the difference between Mrs. Bennett's point of view and that of the reader who studies *The Faerie Queene* as published:

... whatever its limitations and defects, it [the study of the actual process of composition] brings us much nearer to the poet and to a full and active understanding of the poem than we can get by attacking the problem from the point of view of critical and theoretical principles, whether Spenser's or another's. It enables us to see the poem in the natural light of the poet's aims, his difficulties, and his uncertainties, rather than in the artificial light of critical theory and *post factum* apology.

This distinction between the "natural light" of the poet's aims and the "artificial light" of his critical theory seems to me misleading. The letter to Raleigh, with resemblances to Sidney's *Defense of*

Poesie no less instructive than resemblances between *The Faerie Queene* and the *Arcadia* (page 105), gives us the poet's own "artificial light" on his poem as published. Among Spenser's lost works is an early treatise, "The English Poet," which may have thrown as much "natural" as "artificial" light on the problem which we must now treat conjecturally.

Mrs. Bennett recognizes the "temerity" of undertaking a study of the actual process of composition of the poem when we have only "meager external evidence" to work with. Although she is right in claiming priority for the first extended study of the problems of composition, I think that she overemphasizes the significance of her predecessors' "tacit assumption of seriatim composition." Study of the poem as Spenser published it often indicates nothing more than a tacit acceptance of the final form which the poet gave *The Faerie Queene*,—presumably the form in which he intended it to be read. There is, I believe, less disagreement about her fundamental thesis than the author seems to think; but there is bound to be disagreement about the details of the evolution of the poem, about interpretations based on an analysis of the progress of the composition, and about Mrs. Bennett's disparagement of the "artificial light of critical theory and *post factum* apology."

Mrs. Bennett has made a painstaking investigation of an important and difficult problem. In matters of detail, when she is engrossed in the documentation of a point, she may yield to the enthusiasm of opinion; but in any summary of principles or conclusions, she shuns the facile "discovery" of topical allusions by distinguishing sharply between opinion and fact. It is in no captious spirit, therefore, that I turn to questions about details of interpretation involved in this complex exposition.

(1) The evidence for Spenser's point of view in 1580 especially warrants the adjective "meager." On the evidence of his interest in jest books, in the "Nine Comedies," and in *The Tale of Sir Thopas*, Mrs. Bennett pictures a lively young poet in contrast to the "disconsolate lover and stern moralist of the *Calender*" (page 23). But all, not a selected and emphasized part, of the evidence we have about Spenser in 1580 bears upon his early work on *The Faerie Queene*; certainly the attitudes revealed in *The Shepheardes Calender* are an important part of that evidence. (2) Mrs. Bennett may have created a problem for Spenser in assuming (page 7) that a feminine sovereign was an obstacle to writing an epic poem. In "October," lines 37-42, Spenser states the traditional subjects of an epic poem; lines 43-48 begin (with my italics), "*There* may thy muse display his fluttering wing," whether the subject be Elizabeth or Leicester. As I read the lines, "there" connects both alternatives with the epic subject. (3) Spenser's contemporaries would not have agreed that "The castles of Medina and Alma teach no lesson" (page 136). The ninth canto of Book II, however deadly to the modern reader, was admired, imitated, and commented upon to an exceptional degree; *The Purple Island*, by Phineas Fletcher,

is an elaboration of the canto to show the interrelationships of physiology, psychology, and ethics. In *The Faerie Queene* as published, it seems to me that Spenser intends to give Arthur, by his defense of the Castle of Alma, a proper share in the virtue of temperance. As Mrs. Bennett interprets the development of Book II (page 134), "Arthur is simply doubling for Guyon in an adventure which, in turn, duplicates the allegory of the destruction of the Bower of Bliss. The two allegories represent two different ideas for the final battle in the illustration of temperance." (4) Mrs. Bennett's acute study of Sir John Norris as the Artegall of Book V, Canto xi—possibly as the heir to a role originally designed for Lord Grey—does not overcome the obstacle of the late praise of Grey in the *View of Ireland*, written in the summer of 1596. It is necessary to "foresee" (page 205) for Norris the envy and detraction which Lord Grey had met long since and which Spenser had very much in mind when he described, in the *View*, the abuse of Grey.

These comments and queries are of the kind that every student of Spenser will make for himself when he reads the book. But no less will he acknowledge himself instructed by observations and facts which contribute to his understanding of Spenser's method and meaning. Such are Mrs. Bennett's comments on inconsistencies in the poem and between the poem and the letter to Raleigh; her analysis of the poem by episodes, and other reference material in the appendix; and her clarification—by the study of etymologies, heraldry, and chronicles—of the possible connection of the Dudleys with Spenser's poem. Although the author has undertaken a task which only manuscript riches comparable to those of the nineteenth century would make entirely practicable, she has succeeded in illuminating, by suggestion, by fact, or by shrewd analysis, many a vexed passage in *The Faerie Queene*.

ERNEST A. STRATHMANN

Pomona College

Shakespeare's Satire. By OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. xii + 227. \$3.75.

One opens Professor Campbell's book with great expectations, certain that he will throw light on a sadly neglected aspect of Shakespeare—his satire. Professor Campbell's treatment of the field is of vital importance. Though many of his final conclusions can be accepted only with reservations, and some few in common sense cannot be accepted at all, his selection and classification of the satirical stuff of Shakespeare for our scrutiny is invaluable.

The most acceptable portions of his work deal with Elizabethan dramatic satire irrespective of its relation to Shakespeare. His emphasis, for example, on Jonson's contribution to English satire is of significance. We are under a heavy debt to Campbell, also, for compelling us to reappraise from fresh points of view great

bodies of philosophical material in Shakespeare and many highly important characters. These are only a few of the aspects of his work which render it distinguished to a remarkable degree.

The starting aspect of the book, however, must be appraised with scrupulous severity. A book of great value is somewhat invalidated by reason of the following faults:

First, the author's assurance as to exactly what characters Shakespeare personally approves and disapproves. If Shakespeare has any one indisputable element of dramatic preëminence, it lies in his ability to throw himself sympathetically into any character from peasant to king. Great satirists view the rest of us as worms on a level below, and with unholy glee they watch us squirm. Now Shakespeare never forgot that he was one of the worms, was never afflicted with the superiority complex, ancient and peculiarly modern. Notice Campbell's conception of a Shakespeare vivisectioning, like the satirist, his creatures in a laboratory designed for corrective moral and didactic purposes, and his certainty as to what Shakespeare is for and against:

... the main purpose of the action [*Measure for Measure*] is like all satiric plays to expose and humiliate the foolish and evil characters (page 133).

Troilus and Cressida are both objects of scorn in a drama ringing with hostile and disillusioned laughter (page xi).

Jacques is usually the object of his author's ridicule (page 51).

Dr. Caius is an object of satire.

Dr. Hugh Evans is not an object of satire (page 177).

Second, Jonson's influence as a satirist in his period, though finely developed, is overemphasized as it bears on Shakespeare (pages 71, 81, 93, 129, 141, 149). The strange and unaccountable tradition still besets us of a Shakespeare adapting himself to others who set the fashion. Now Jonson was about sixteen years old when Shakespeare developed a form of satire in the Jack Cade scenes of *Henry VI, Part Two*, powerful enough to set the fashion for anyone. Campbell drives "the pampered jades" of Jonson "more than thirty miles a day."

Growing ever bolder and bolder, Campbell speaks of possibly satirical portions of Shakespeare as certainly satirical. He advances the most revolutionary theory as to certain Shakespearean tragedies ever advanced by a reputable scholar, to wit, that Shakespeare actually detested and derided his two tragic heroes, Timon and Coriolanus. Campbell's own detestation of these two is obvious. Shakespeare's detestation is quite another matter. Never in the heyday of so-called romantic criticism has anything more subjective been developed under the guise of scholarship. Premising his findings on a Jonson who condemned and satirized his own tragic hero, Sejanus (one doubts it), Campbell proceeds to show that Shake-

speare changed his naturally sympathetic nature under Jonson's initiation and proceeded to approach his Timon and Coriolanus with derision and contempt. Campbell's words are: "Timon of Athens is Shakespeare's first tragic satire."

In these lines [Timon's epitaph] Timon absurdly seeks to create a posthumous life for his misanthropic railing (page 193).

Shakespeare is, of course, simply adapting the two epitaphs from Plutarch here.

It is, however, in his reactions to Coriolanus that Campbell contributes perhaps the most amazingly curious thing in the field of subjective Shakespearean criticism, and this in the face of the fact that Hemminge, Condell, Campbell's Jonson, placed *Coriolanus* first in order among the tragedies in the 1623 folio, as they did the *Tempest* first among the comedies, presumably because they were written last. These three friends of Shakespeare, when the wind was southerly, knew a hawk from a handsaw. But such facts matter not to Campbell as he plunges forward in full career and creates a Coriolanus with whom Shakespeare is utterly out of sympathy and holds up to our derisive laughter.

Instead of enlisting our sympathy for Coriolanus, he deliberately alienates it (pages 198, 199).

For this voice [Coriolanus'] we can feel only aversion (page 210).

Coriolanus is also his mother's puppet—Volumnia transforms him into a terrified little boy every time the two confront each other (page 211).

The contrast between his arrogant attitude towards all other persons in the drama, and infantile cowering before his mother's severity is ridiculous and is intended to be so (page 212).

Campbell apparently fails to see that a tragic hero's traits have different values in time of peace and in time of war. Men who irritate us in times of peace save our sorry skins in time of war. And one Coriolanus in a pinch is worth a thousand office-seekers who "for their bellies' sake, creep and intrude and climb into the fold." Shakespeare, through Aufidius, analyzes Coriolanus as to the tragic flaw which brought about his downfall, more elaborately than in the case of any other tragic hero, using a phrase used by Aristotle in the same connection, "defect of judgment," and suggesting also that it lay in the inability of the great military man to adapt himself to the smooth and oily ways of peace-time politicians [Act IV, vii, lines 35-50]. When the writer of a book proceeds at times by illogical and impulsive steps to positive conclusions, it is necessary to accept any of his findings with decided reservations.

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

University of North Carolina

The Background of Thomson's "Seasons." By ALAN DUGALD MCKILLOP. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 192. \$2.50.

The University of Minnesota Press is to be congratulated on this addition to its list of excellent studies in literature. The bibliography of the *Seasons* and its author comprises chiefly articles and notes. The biographical materials presented by earlier critics, and those contributed to the Aldine editions by Sir Harris Nicholas and Peter Cunningham, and less successfully by D. C. Tovey, have been expanded and enriched, with criticism of the poet's works, by Léon Morel and G. C. Macaulay, and have been dealt with less successfully by William Bayne. The plays have received little attention. The influence of Thomson on literatures of the Continent has been discussed in ably executed volumes. Consideration of the background and the sources of the *Seasons* has been comparatively restricted and disjected; it has remained for Dr. McKillop to give us a book in which is made the first effort to deal extensively with those matters.

The body of the *Background* consists of four chapters devoted to the relations of the *Seasons* to the philosophical and literary features of its period, the poet's subjects and procedure in description and his use of natural science, and his utilization of the literature of geography and that of travel. Appended are three letters by Thomson, two previously unpublished, the other (to William Cranstoun, M.D.) printed more accurately than heretofore.

The *Seasons* is a group of poems written under the conditions of a compromise between intellectual and poetic purposes. Thomson was not a philosopher or a theologian or a scientist, any more than he was an advocate of any consistent system. He was an amiable, earnest, not too insistent man who, as an amateur, had read not too much nor too diligently, had consorted with more or less initiated associates, had absorbed from what was in the general air, and had done some mild meditating of his own. From time to time Thomson inserted into his verses, where he thought appropriate, and without attempting to reconcile their contradictions, passages of observation and contemplation without which his poem would have been no more acceptable to his public than to himself. All this, or what is essential in it, Dr. McKillop observes acutely and records, presenting the similarities and, without over-insistence, the parallels of the features here and there of Thomson's matter to that of his predecessors and his contemporaries.

The *Seasons* is not a composition printed and let stand; between 1726, when the first form of *Winter* was issued, and 1746, the date of the poet's final printing of the four pieces, the poems were subjected to extensive substitution, interpolation, and excision, modifications made chiefly before 1731 and in preparation for the editions of 1744. Dr. McKillop is familiar with these modifications, and, at all pertinent points, bears in mind the importance of their nature and their chronology for sound consideration of the poet's general purposes and of his choice and use of materials toward their accom-

plishment. For this he did not depend on Zippel's printing of variants, but—as also for his incidental remarks on other poems by Thomson—studied copies of the author's own issues, with which few critics have shown any considerable acquaintance and to which most have not had access.

The *Background* manifests without exploitation a close intimacy with the criticism, from 1726 to the present, of Thomson and his work. Its discussions and citations present an extensive body of materials, wide in range, and derived from diligent examination of the newspapers, the magazines, and the other ephemeral publications contemporary with the *Seasons*, as well as more imposing writings of its period and of earlier times. The bases of information and discussion are identified, the notes being placed at the foot of the page, not tormentingly located at the ends of chapters or at the end of the book. The disjunct materials, the handling of which encountered many difficulties, are well assembled and organized. The appraisal and the utilization of their features and of the views of earlier critics are discriminating and balanced. A number of minor errors and misstatements of facts are unostentatiously corrected. The two last chapters titled "The Golden Age" and "Distant Climes" make particularly interesting reading, replete with directly illuminating and suggestive matter treated with the discretion and the absence of over-urgency that characterize the other sections of the book.

To all interested in Thomson and the *Seasons* and their period the *Background* offers a valuable contribution, welcome for its rich array of particulars and the general soundness of its conclusions, and made more acceptable by the modesty of its author regarding his accomplishment. We should hope that Dr. McKillop will soon make available additional fruits of his studies of Thomson and his writings.

JOHN EDWIN WELLS

New London, Connecticut

A Study of the Novels of John Galt. By FRANK HALLAM LYELL. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. ix + 237. \$2.50.

If some fine day John Hall's prescription for one William Shakespeare were dug up in Stratford-upon-Avon, or in London, we might discover that the "Problem Comedies" resulted not from an affair with a dark lady, but from the torment of a particularly obnoxious, and happily temporary, gallstone. A fact will demolish the prettiest theorizing. While this trend toward a coral-like growth of fact-finding may be fortunate for American literary scholarship, still it needs at least a layer of the fertilizing guano of interpretation, critical analysis, or best of all, contagious enthusiasm, if it is ever to become the seed-bed of vitalizing ideas.

As a representative product of American literary research, Mr. Lyell's study of the "parochial novelist" is a well-proportioned

investigation. While it irritates one with its over-lengthy detailed analyses of plots, yet it does away with the need (thank goodness) of ever having to read *The Majalo*, *A Tale*, or *The Stolen Child*, and will stimulate one to read or reread *Annals of the Parish*, *The Provost*, and *The Entail*. In addition, Mr. Lyell has brought to light the philosophic and esthetic principles of the novelist, acquainted us with the contemporary criticism of Galt's works, and set these off against an admirably succinct biographical background. One comes to admire the man as well as the novelist: "John Galt had his share of human deficiencies, but want of resourcefulness was not among them." One is made to see Galt's literary faults and virtues: his remarkable but indiscriminating productivity; his skillful characterization but general weakness of structure; and a happy union at his best of humor and pathos combined with a total lack of self-criticism. Mr. Lyell justifiably deplores many of Galt's dizzying descents below sea-level; yet he justifiably praises, also, his best work:

Both the *Annals of the Parish* and *The Provost* have the attributes to be found only in the finest specimens of narrative art: the perfect fusion of setting and character, and the suggestion of universal truth of human nature through action definitely localized in time and space.

His thesis might be summarized by a quotation that he makes from that gentle friend and critic, D. M. Moir: "What Scott was to the eastern division of Scotland, Galt has been to the western."

The critics of *Maga* were not always so cordial. In an unpublished letter of February 4, 1882, Lockhart wrote Croker:

Mr Galt the author of the *Annals of the Parish* has published an atrocious trio of Duodecimos which I think will seriously injure his reputation. Uneducated men never know when they should stop and I suppose he thinks it necessary to tip us six or seven volumes *per annum* like his betters (The William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan).

Curiously, the first of the *Noctes Ambrosianae* of March, 1822, emphasizes the inferiority of *Sir William Wylie* to the *Annals of the Parish*:

Editor. The story is damned improbable; the hero a boorish fellow, an abominable bore! but there is so much cleverness in the writing, and many of the scenes are so capitally managed, that one can never lay down the book after beginning it.

Nor does *Maga* show any relenting in the fifth of the *Noctes* of September, 1822:

<i>North.</i>	Henceforth I patronize prose.
<i>Tickler.</i>	So does Mr. Blackwood. Confound him, he is inundating the public. I wish to God Galt were dead!
<i>Blackwood.</i>	You are so fond of saying strong things. Gracious me! before he has finished the <i>Lairds of Grippy</i> ?

Tickler. Well, well, let him live then, and then die. Yet better is a soil, like that of Scotland, that produces a good, strong, rough, coarse crop, than the meagre and mangy barrenness of England.

Mr. Lyell happens to include neither of the above quotations from the *Noctes*. He quotes Wilson's glowing eulogy of *The Entail* in the magazine of January, 1823, but, unfortunately, does not mention Leddy Grippy's hilarious introduction into the ninth *Noctes* of June, 1823: she demands a *solacium* of a hundred pounds because North "has been guilty of raising a *fama clamosa* against me!" *Exeunt omnes, in the greatest panic and consternation.* Whatever critical thwacks the *Blackwood* group may have bestowed upon an ally, surely to introduce one of his characters into the *Noctes* is consummate praise.

ALAN LANG STROUT

Texas Technical College

Tennyson in Egypt: A Study of the Imagery of his Earlier Work.

By W. D. PADEN. Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, Humanistic Studies, Number 27, 1942. Pp. 178. Paper covers, \$1.50.

In *Tennyson in Egypt*, Professor Paden has not attempted an exhaustive and definitive treatment of the theme "A study of the imagery in his earlier work." Although he has made use of nothing not previously known, he has reached some conclusions not hitherto noted; and in his examination of material which the young Tennyson read, and his interpretation of the use of this material, he has performed a service of considerable value to students of the poet. If his essay leads to further study of Tennyson's personality, and such study is made with as much restraint and good sense as Professor Paden has used, it will have value beyond its immediate contribution in adding to our knowledge of a more complex mind than is often assumed.

The scope of the essay is not broad. The assumptions reached are, on the whole, reasonable. Though he makes some use of the technique of the psychoanalysts, Professor Paden steers clear of the temptation to explain Tennyson's writings wholly on the basis of the tenets of Freud and his followers. His thesis is that the pattern of Tennyson's mind was not uncommon in kind but was unusual in depth and in intensity of emotion; that "in the constricted circumstances of his adolescence his appetites for sensuous pleasures were suppressed and repressed . . . by his idealism, his piety, and his fears"; that "the forces of suppression and repression seem to have been symbolized, in his imagination, by his father"; that although his resentment led to no rebellious act, his "appetites, interests, and resentment remained potent in his unconscious mind and there affected the modes of his imagination"; that he resolved

his difficulties slowly, indeed never resolved them wholly (pages 15-16); and that this explains much concerning the treatment of women and love in his works.

From hints in the notes to *Poems by Two Brothers* and other early work and in the *Memoir*, Professor Paden determined some of the books which Tennyson read as a youth; and by examining this material and Tennyson's early verse with patience and care, he explains the source of many ideas and much of the imagery in this early work. By using suggestions afforded a student of modern psychology, he then attempts to explain Tennyson's peculiar treatment of women and love, as well as to account for his preoccupation at one period with African scenes and themes.

Much minute information is contained in the voluminous notes. An appendix attempts to dispose of the popular conception that as a boy Tennyson was an extraordinarily good student of the classics.

This essay is more indicative than definitive, but it is provocative and important. It needs to be supplemented by more actual information about the home life and experiences of Tennyson in his boyhood, and for that we may look to a purposed work by Charles Tennyson, the poet's grandson, who has been fortunate enough to discover much new material relating to that period, but whose work is being held up by the War.

GERALD SANDERS

Michigan State Normal College

Drama Goes to War. Number Seven of the Modern Drama Chapbooks. By JOSEPH MERSAND. Brooklyn: The Modern Chapbooks, 1943. Pp. 45. Fifty cents.

This timely booklet contains five essays dealing with the contribution of plays to the war effort. Although they are actually only collections of brief notes, supplemented by a selected bibliography, they serve to indicate the recent patriotic activities of our playwrights, and to emphasize what may possibly need emphasizing: that the theatre is a considerable factor in the business of war. Teachers and students will find themselves indebted to Mr. Mersand for this handy compilation of reference material.

GLENN HUGHES

University of Washington

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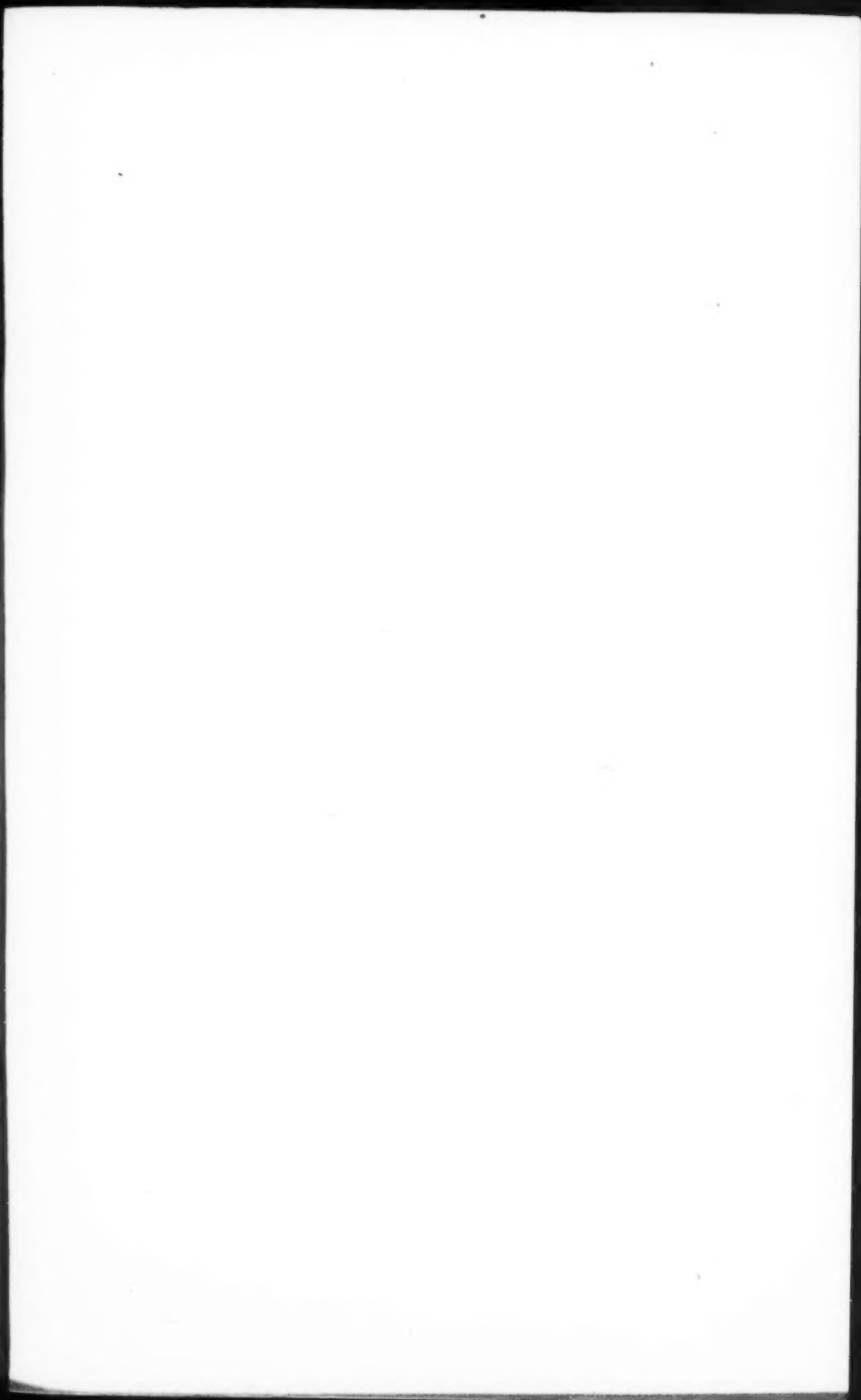
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* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Spanish-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.







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